NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08179165 3

THE UNITED STATES

See pp. 126—
and p. 210

Hall
7—1A6

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/unitedstatesacco00hall

The United States

An Account of Past and Contemporary Conditions and Progress

Edited and Arranged by
JOHN M. HALL

Published by the
BAY VIEW READING CLUB
CENTRAL OFFICE, BOSTON BOULEVARD
DETROIT, MICH.
1916

1122084

Copyrighted, 1913,
BY
JOHN M. HALL

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I — PAGE

EARLIEST COLONIAL HISTORY AND LIFE 7

CHAPTER II

LIFE AND CUSTOMS IN THE QUAKER AND PURITAN COLONIES 21

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES 37

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES OF A QUARTER CENTURY 51

CHAPTER V

AMERICA'S COLONIAL POLICY 65

CHAPTER VI

RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION 74

CHAPTER VII

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT 85

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION 95

CHAPTER IX

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—FORESTRY PRESERVING 110

CHAPTER X

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—THE NEW AGRICULTURE .. 122

CHAPTER XI

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—ROAD BUILDING 136

CHAPTER XII

IS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP A FALLACY? 147

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICAN WOMEN 161

CHAPTER XIV

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND THEIR WORK 175

CHAPTER XV

JOURNALISM IN AMERICA 186

CHAPTER XVI

THE AMERICAN PULPIT 198

PREFACE

THE student of some lands anticipates no particular charm in their contemporary history and life, and, therefore, he fastens upon the long past as the time which offers the greatest instruction and pleasure. This is true of Spain and Greece, whose "dead past" is even more vital with power than the living present. They influence the world more by what they have done than by what they are now doing.

There are other lands, hoary with age, whose early history has scarcely a page to arouse enthusiasm, but whose modern day is their brightest and best. Witness a notable illustration in Japan, whose emergence into the modern world and whose marvelous strides are all within the memory of living men and women of seventy years.

There is still another class, whose beginning and their present equally move us by their wonderful record. In this class our own country is the most conspicuous example in all the world to-day. It is like an oak in its prime,—still sound at the root, strong in body, and beautiful in its spreading green top. Such a land has had a golden age in every decade; sometimes in the matchless Plymouth and other colony days, or in the Revolution, or the Civil War, or in the splendors of to-day. This little book traces some

of the characteristics of the last golden age, in many respects the most wonderful of all the decades of American history and effort.

In preparing a course of study on our own country for the members of the Bay View Reading Clubs and for the "solitaire" students, it was felt that it would have a serious defect if a study of contemporary life and times were omitted. And yet, so far as known, there is not a single book on the subject. This contemporary life of ours is not one broad, deep current, but a stream of many currents, each one of which has been especially studied by solitary investigators. No one mind could authoritatively enlighten others on all its activities, but it was realized that another, with a comprehensive and orderly plan, could weave the work of others into a rich and useful fabric. And this is what has been done in this book. While the plan has its disadvantages, on the other hand it gives a work each of whose chapters is the contribution of a specialist. Acknowledgment is made of the generous consent of publishers to use the material, and at the end of each chapter is a key-letter which directs the reader to the last page of the book for the authorship and source of the chapter. License has been taken to correct some parts with the latest statistics and information; also to eliminate unimportant material in the interest of limitation of space; and to do some slight editing in order to unite all the work in a smooth fabric.

J. M. HALL.

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST COLONIAL HISTORY AND LIFE

A PROPER way to reach a comprehension of our progress and contemporary life is to go back over the road by which we have come, and view the conditions that once existed. Only as we project the picture of the present on the background of the past can we appreciate our wonderful progress. My primary object is to sketch life and customs, but these so often rest in history that I must recall some of the story of the colonial narrative.

It was eighty years after the discoveries by the Cabots before Englishmen made any serious effort to establish homes in North America. And these efforts made successively, with Jamestown as a nucleus, could hardly be called serious, since the promoters had not so much in mind colonization as they had commercial motives. They sought a South Sea passage to the Indies; they coveted gold and silver mines such as those with which Mexico was enriching the coffers of Spain; they looked for a climate favorable for the manufacture of wine; their rage for silk they would satisfy by cultivating the silkworm in

Virginia. All these things they would force from a handful of miserable men, poorly housed under roofs of bark and weed, surrounded by savage foes, and dying of starvation and fever in the malarial bogs of the James River.

Twenty years after Raleigh's failures, the Virginia Company was chartered under the laws of England, and in 1607 the first ship-load of emigrants landed at Jamestown. The orders were that the emigrants, who were men without families, should live in community style, for five years the produce going into a common fund. Individual interests were thus merged in that of the commercial company to which Virginia had been granted, and indolence and quarreling resulted among the colonists. Failure of crops, or their destruction by the Indians, brought in its wake dire suffering, and added to this was the danger of death by the Indian tomahawk or arrow, and the burning of their houses over their heads.

George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, writing of the hardships of the times, said: "There never were Englishmen left in any foreign country in such misery as we were in this new-discovered Virginia." A pint of worm-eaten barley or wheat was allowed for a day's ration. This was made into pottage and served out at the rate of one small ladleful at each meal. "Our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air," says Captain John Smith. "If there were any conscience in men," further adds Percy, "it would make their hearts bleed to hear the

pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men, without relief every day and night for the space of about six weeks." Half of the colonists died, and those who lived were saved by the Indians who brought game, grain, and fruit in exchange for trinkets possessed by the English.

The legend of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas has proved to be only the fabrication of Smith's imaginative mind, suggested to him after Pocahontas married Rolfe and appeared in London as a foreign princess. Edward Eggleston, who wrote voluminously of the Virginia colonists, says of Captain Smith, that "his paradoxical character has been much misunderstood. Those who discredit the historical accuracy of his narratives, consider his deeds of no value. On the other hand, those who appreciate Smith's services to the colony in its dire extremities, believe that the historical authority of such a man must be valid. But it does not matter greatly," the author adds, "whether the 'strangely grimmed and disguised' Indians seen by Smith at one place on the Potomac, who, according to the story, were shouting and yelling horribly, though in ambuscade, numbered three or four hundred, as in one account, or three or four thousand, as in his later story. To Captain Smith remains the credit of having been the one man in these first years—the man who wasted no time in a search for gold, but won from the Indians what was of infinitely greater value,—the corn needed to preserve the lives of the colonists. In mental and phys-

ical hardihood, and in what may be called shiftiness, as well as in proneness to exaggeration and in boastfulness, he was in some sense a typical American pioneer—a forerunner of the daring and ready-witted men who have subdued a savage continent."

There were perilous times for the Virginia colony after the banishment to England of Captain John Smith by his enemies, Archer and Ratcliffe. The crops failed, and the colonists resorted to the eating of horses, rats, mice, adders, and even dead Indians, it is recorded. Finally Daniel Tucker—the "Old Dan Tucker," afterward the tyrant of the Bermudas—bethought himself to build a boat for fishing purposes. "This," says Percy, "did keep us from killing one another to eat." But it is related that one man was driven to cannibalism by hunger and slew his wife. What he could not eat of her he salted. For his fiendish act he was burned to the stake.

Time after time was the little colony almost depopulated, but was kept together by De la Warr, the cruel Sir Thomas Dale, and the unscrupulous Captain Argall, until 1618, when, on the eighteenth of November, the Virginia Company, acting within the powers conferred upon it by its charter, granted the residents of Virginia a document styled a "Great Charter or Commissions of Privileges, Orders, and Lawes." No copy of this instrument was preserved, but some of its provisions are still extant. It established a legislative body, to consist of councilors of estate and representatives or burgesses chosen by the

several "plantations" or hundreds, and it limited the power of the governor. "This charter," says Eggleston, "was the starting-point of constitutional government in the New World. It contained in embryo the American system of an executive power lodged mainly in one person, and a legislature of two houses. One might without much exaggeration call this paper a sort of Magna Charta of America, and it was a long and probably a deliberate step toward popular government. If the results that have followed it be considered, it can hardly be accounted second in importance to any other state paper of the seventeenth century."

It was in this same year, but before the charter was granted, that the colonists expressed their needs in this quaint phrase: "A plantation can never flourish till families be planted and the respects of Wives and Children fix the people on the soyle." In response to this sentiment, England sent over a ship freighted with home-makers, in which were ninety maidens. Mary Johnson uses this episode as a basis for one of her most charming novels, "To Have and to Hold." The colonists had to defray the expense of the transportation of this cargo in the high-priced tobacco of the time. The planter had to pay for his wife, and even then could not have her without her consent, and so the monotony of existence was varied with energetic courting scenes. For thirteen years this custom of sending over wives continued. In 1732 two young women were sent back to England

because of scandalous conduct on the voyage across. They were told that only good, pure women were fit to become the mothers of Virginians.

"When there were house-mothers in the cabins, and children born in the country," says Eggleston, "the settlers no longer dreamed of returning to England; and there was soon a young generation that knew no other skies than those that spanned the rivers, fields, and vast primeval forests of their native Virginia, which now for the first time became a home."

Prosperous times followed for the Virginians. The profits from the sale of tobacco were large, and they lived in that riotous profusion that sometimes characterizes men emerging from the hardships and perils of pioneer times into unstinted wealth. The gambling spirit was upon them, and gold changed hands faster than it could be counted, and every gentleman, winner or loser, arose from the table at dawn, his smile and his courtesy as undimmed as the sparkle on the freshly opened champagne. Even the clergy participated in the reckless life of the people. The most inefficient clergymen were the ones who could be most easily persuaded to leave England and accept the hardships of the wilderness. In some instances men who had been deposed by the Church in England found livings in Virginia. These men, as a class, not only lacked zeal and spirituality, but many of them were addicted to open vice. Horse-racing, gambling, and drunken revels were among their sins.

It is recorded that one of them was president of a jockey club for many years. They encouraged among the people the custom of celebrating the sacrament of baptism with festivities and dancing, in which the clergy took part. One clergyman is said to have called out to his church warden during communion, "Here, George, this bread is not fit for a dog to eat!" Another fought a duel in a graveyard; and still another thrashed his vestry and the next Sunday preached from the text: "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them and plucked off their hair." A writer on this subject says that no doubt the vestry got what was coming to them, as the vestry in those days exercised too much authority.

For all this and much more a slur has ever been cast on Virginians. And yet it has been well said by Sydney George Fisher that "the commonwealth which could produce Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, the Lees, the Randolphs, the Carters, the Harrisons, and a host of other eminent men, which was called the Mother of Presidents, and which exercised such a controlling influence in the Revolution and the formation of the Constitution, must have been a remarkable community; for such distinguished men are the result of conditions in which they live, and can not spring up by accident or of their own will."

During the spring and summer months of the present year (1907) many visitors to the Jamestown

Exposition made their way up the path toward the rustic entrance to the tree-shaded enclosure within which is a broken, solitary and ivy-mantled church tower, half hidden by its grove of sheltering trees. As they stood beside the almost obliterated remains of the colonial powder magazine, they looked about to find nothing remaining save the ivy-covered tower of the old church and the crumbling gravestones. The grass-grown remainder of the mightiest of modern wars is heaped up over what were the streets and highways of the old village. The unstayed river, relentless as time itself, has foot by foot eaten away the actual site of much of old Jamestown, where Smith and De la Warr labored, where Pocahontas lived and flourished, where Berkeley ruled with despotic sway, and where Bacon, backing his words with his deeds, made the first successful armed protest against kingly tyranny in the name of the people.

And yet, here was once the most prosperous and important town in the colonies. In spite of jealousy, neglect, and privation, the colony planted on this island (then a peninsula), in 1607, flourished and grew, until its one hundred and fifty colonists increased to fifteen thousand in 1647, and the palisaded village of fifty houses, as it was in Pocahontas' time, grew into the colonial metropolis of Berkeley's day, with its capitol and its court-house and its governor's mansion, its taverns and shops and traders, its streets and highways and ocean piers, now all vanished utterly, save the old tower and the walls of the thrice-

burnt house in the fields, known as the Carey place. There once lived Washington's earliest love, and there, too, it is also claimed, stood Governor Berkeley's mansion in the days of his stormy supremacy. As one looks across the ever-widening creek, where once stretched a neck of land, one can imagine a strange procession: John Smith and his soldiers marching into the wilderness; Pocahontas bearing relief or warning to the colonists; and Bacon and his patriots entering the captured capital. Explorer and colonist, trader and priest, governor and councilor, landed proprietor and negro slave, sailors, soldiers, Indian ally or red-skinned foeman, stately ladies on horseback or in lumbering coaches, bondmaid and goodwife—all the life and all the display were seen in old Jamestown, as the seat of colonial government for over ninety years, until Governor Nicholson, in 1698, removed the capital to Williamsburg and took from Jamestown all its prestige and power.

Soon after the establishment of the colony at Jamestown the Dutch under the leadership of Hudson settled the country known for years as New Netherlands, afterward New York State. During the first forty years of its existence the great city which we now call New York was a Dutch settlement known as New Amsterdam. The Dutch had no political or colonizing propensities, and established themselves at first for the mere purpose of collecting furs from the Indians. New Amsterdam was well located for the Dutch traders, being near Long Is-

land, the mint of the Indians, where wampum was manufactured out of shells. The Dutch could purchase the wampum cheap and use it to buy furs from the northern tribes.

None of the nations that sought homes in the New World were as cruel to the Indians as were the Dutch. At one time when Kieft was governor of the colony, a company of eighty men fell upon the unsuspecting Indians at Pavona and murdered men, women, and children in cold blood. From midnight until morning they shot and slashed, threw children into the water and drove mothers in after them, while the screams were heard across the bay at Fort Amsterdam. Shortly afterward another party of Indians was surprised and forty of them killed. The soldiers returned to Kieft in the morning with the heads and prisoners, and he welcomed them by shaking their bloody hands. The women of the colony, too, became aroused to brutality, and, in imitation of the savages, heaped indignities upon the dripping heads. Not content with this slaughter, the Dutchmen made a raid on the Long Island Indians who had always been their friends, and robbed them of their corn. Within a few months the Indians commenced to square accounts with the Dutch. Hiding in the swamps and thickets, they began their stealthy, savage tactics against which the Dutchmen were powerless. The farmer and his cattle were shot down, grain and hay crops were set on fire, and the women and children whose lives were spared were taken into

captivity. In his extremity Kieft sent to the Puritans for aid, but received the answer that the English believed the Indians were justified in their warfare. Sydney George Fisher says it is not unlikely that many a Puritan prayed to his terrible God not to deliver the Swanennekens (the name the Indians gave the Dutch) from the hand of the heathen, but to sweep them off the continent that the saints might inherit the earth. The war continued five years, only ending when the remnant of the Dutch joined forces with the Puritans.

The Dutch were skilful gardeners, and in New Amsterdam they soon had beautiful gardens surrounding their houses, both of vegetables and flowers. Many of them were imported from Holland, but beside these they brought into cultivation many of the native wild flowers. They also had flocks of geese, ducks, and chickens. The Dutch vrouws and their goodmen slept on beds filled with feathers plucked from their own geese, and for covering put over themselves another feather bed. They had quantities of clothes, and seem to have thought the climate cold, for the women are pictured as wearing innumerable petticoats and the men several pairs of trousers, one over the other; and in church in winter the men used muffs.

They had linen in great quantity, both for wear and for the bed and table. Some families had five or six hundred dollars worth; and it is recorded that one man had eighty muslin sheets, twenty-three linen

ones, and thirty-two pairs of pillow slips. This is accounted for from the fact that Dutch wash-days were few and far between.

The Dutch women were very neat, and used to put their houses in perfect order every day, then dress themselves neatly, with bags hanging from their girdles filled with all the articles of housewifery. They would spin busily at their wheels, or sit on the stoop and receive visitors, gossiping while the goodman smoked his pipe. Sydney George Fisher tells us that their love of gossip, combined with their sensitiveness, kept the judges busy with suits for slander. Dominie Bogardus, a quaint character, sued a woman because she said that his wife, Anneke, lifted her petticoats too high. Mrs. Alice Morse Earle tells us that Dominie Frelinghuysen was so sensitive to slander that he had this rhyme painted on the back of his sleigh:

> "No one's tongue and no one's pen
> Makes me other than I am.
> Speak, evil speakers, speak without end;
> No one heeds a word you say."

The Dutch farmers lived in low, solidly built houses, with small windows and very large cellars, where they stored great supplies of vegetables for winter use, and hogsheads of salted beef, pork, and fish. They cooked on the fireplaces, which were large and extended far into the room. Kalm says you could drive a horse and cart through them. It

is said the Dutch were not as heavy drinkers as the English, but when we read about what they drank, we naturally wonder what could have been the capacity of the English. Among the items listed to one Dutch candidate for election were sixty-two gallons of rum, several gallons of brandy, a pyd of wine, besides lime juice, shrub, mugs, jugs, and bottles. Alice Morse Earle tells us that Dutch workmen on a building had to be "sustained" at every stage. In 1606 those who pulled down an old building in Albany, she says, received a "tun of strong beer." When the first stones of the new wall were laid, the masons were given a case of brandy and thirty-two gallons of other liquor. When the beams were carried in by eight men, they were given half a barrel of beer for every beam; and when the beams were laid, two barrels of strong beer, three cases of brandy, and seventy-two florins' worth of small beer. In the light of these facts we can understand Rip Van Winkle's toast, "Here's to you and your wife and your children, and may you all live long and prosper."

Notwithstanding the queerness of the Dutch colonists, they have added many valuable characteristics to the concrete American character, and from them has descended the time-honored Knickerbocker aristocracy of old Gotham. The names of Schuyler, Cuyler, Stuyvesant, Van Rensselaer, Van Twiller, Van der Voort, we still have with us, and they are names to conjure with. The greatest financiers of

the present day trace their ancestry directly to these old Dutch traders. And, more than all else, the late chief executive of the nation, Theodore Roosevelt, who seemed to hold, more than had any of his recent predecessors, the destiny of the country in his hands, has Dutch blood a plenty a-coursing through his veins.[a]

CHAPTER II

LIFE AND CUSTOMS IN THE PURITAN AND QUAKER COLONIES

TWENTY-THREE years after the landing of the Pilgrims the population of New England had grown to twenty-four thousand. Forty-nine little wooden towns, with their wooden churches, wooden forts, and wooden ramparts, were dotted here and there over the land. There were four separate colonies. They were Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. There appeared at first a disposition in the Pilgrim mind to scatter widely, and remain apart in small self-governing communities. For some years every little band which pushed deeper and deeper into the wilderness, settled itself into an independent state, having no political relations with its neighbors. But this isolation could not continue. The wilderness had other inhabitants whose presence was a standing menace. Within striking distance there were Indians enough to trample out the solitary little English communities. On their frontier were Frenchmen and Dutchmen — natural enemies, as all men in that time were to each other. For mutual defense and encouragement the four colonies joined themselves into the United Colonies of New England. This was the first confederation in a land where confederations of unprecedented magnitude were hereafter to be established.

In every way New England was a direct contrast to the Virginia colony. Instead of landing on the continent in the balmy month of May, bleak December marked the advent of the Pilgrims. Instead of the mild climate of the Chesapeake Bay, we have the rugged, rock-bound coast, barren land, fir trees, and rigorous climate. Even the colonists themselves differed greatly from the Virginians. Instead of being adherents to the Church of England and pleasure-loving people, they were stiff, solemn individuals, devoted to schools, colleges, and learning. Amusement was a crime to them; their lives were completely taken up with religion, and, while they came to America in search of religious liberty, they were unwilling to grant it to others, and were the most unbendable fanatics the world has ever known.

In the beginning there were two distinct colonies in Massachusetts. First came the Plymouth colony, known as the Pilgrim Fathers, and ten years later the Massachusetts Bay colony. The Plymouth colony, called Independents, were dissenters, and had separated themselves from the Church of England. There were about one hundred of them. They were wretchedly poor in England, and religious persecution drove them to embark for the New World on the immortal ship, the "Mayflower." They were industrious and thrifty, and made excellent soldiers. They were disciplined and drilled by Miles Standish, and their village is described as being more like an armed camp than a colony. Isaac De Rasiers, a

Dutchman from New York, describes their life as follows:

"Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof made of thick-sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four or five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor, in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on, and a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him."

The Plymouth colony had to be thus careful in its defense on account of its small numbers and its dangers from the Indians. Sydney George Fisher graphically describes their isolation when he says: "When their sentinel paced his rounds at night, he had no waking companions on the vast continent of black forest save the Dutch guard two hundred miles away at Fort Amsterdam on the Hudson, and the careless Virginian probably sleeping at his post at Jamestown, on the Chesapeake. They were unable to spread out and occupy the country. They had to remain huddled together in their village with its fort on the hill, and live by fishing and trade with the Dutch and English vessels that visited the coast.

Their garden patches were kept close to the village, and it was with great caution that they began to occupy outlying districts."

They numbered only two hundred and fifty at the end of ten years. At the end of seventy years there were only nine thousand of them, and they were absorbed by the Massachusetts Bay colony, composed of the Puritans. It has been said that the dramatic incident of their landing on Plymouth Rock has been used to exaggerate their importance in the founding of the nation, and that to them every good thing that has happened has been ascribed. As a matter of fact, they could hardly establish themselves, and were overwhelmed by the Puritans, who were really the creators of New England, and who numbered thirty thousand in 1691, when they took over the Pilgrim Fathers.

With the Puritans, their religion held first place. It dominated every act of their lives, and they made it one with the affairs of state. No one could become a freeman and have the privilege of voting unless he were a church member. The examination into the religious experiences of a candidate was very severe, and it is said that not more than one out of five men was a freeman. This disfranchised four-fifths of the male colonists, and it was this class that finally proved the undoing of Puritan principles, influenced by such leavening spirits as Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson.

There was a great difference between the ministers of the Virginia colony and the ministers of New England. If a Puritan suspected his minister of unsoundness, a list of written questions was presented to him and answers demanded. He dare not refuse. This system filled the pulpits with able men, for a weak one could not meet their arguments.

Perhaps the history of no people presents so many atrocities committed in the name of religion as does that of the Puritans. The limit was reached in the persecution of the Quakers and the hangings for witchcraft. During the witchcraft madness no one was safe. The least peculiarity in manner, a chance remark that could be given a double meaning, was often enough to convict a person. The killing continued from the first of June to the first of September, 1692, when the end came because they began to strike at prominent persons, the governor's wife being accused of being a witch. Cotton Mather, the maddest of all mad Puritans and the leader in the witchcraft craze, never regained the respect of the colonists.

The persecutions of the Quakers were even more cruel than the punishments inflicted on the alleged witches. Many of them were hanged, some had their ears cut off, some their tongues pierced by a red-hot iron, and others were stripped to the waist and whipped. It is no wonder that an Indian, to whose wigwam a banished Quaker fled for protection, exclaimed, "What a God have the English!" Notwith-

standing their persecutions the Quakers became numerous, many of them being converted Puritans. Whittier was a descendant of one of these Puritans converted to the way of peace.

After witchcraft had subsided and the Quakers had enforced the lesson of religious liberty, the fundamental principle of Puritanism was destroyed. The pendulum then swung to the other extreme, and it was not until long after the Revolution that it reached its normal vibrations in a well-ordered social régime.

In the early days there had been no display. Those who had brought with them handsome velvets, rich silverware, and luxurious furniture, hid their store and lived the severe life. Any one found with a pack of cards was fined, or a worse punishment meted out to him. The whole countryside was a churchgoing people. They were plainly dressed; the minister had his musket in the pulpit by him, and the congregation was armed and prayerful. The opportunity presented by the assembling of the entire colony in one place was a temptation to the Indians, and one or two tragedies had made the colonists careful to be on the defensive. They would spend the whole day in the meeting-house, the minister continuing the sermon in the afternoon that he had commenced in the morning. Sometimes he would preach on the same text Sunday after Sunday until he had exhausted it. And the minister could exhaust anything, it was said, except the Puritan patience.

Under the new influences there was a change. The governor drove in his great coach drawn by six horses decked in resplendent harness, with his liveried servants in attendance. Other wealthy people had coaches with four horses, and they walked the streets in their cocked hats, and yellow, red, blue, or green waistcoats. Their houses were large and filled with silverware, linen, china, furniture, and tapestry. They indulged in riding, hunting, fishing, and skating. The sleigh-rides ended in dancing and card-playing parties, and they drew the line at but one amusement, theatergoing.

For many years communication with other towns was by means of the post-horses, and much of interest centered in the mail carrier. In winter he made his trip once a month, and in summer once in three weeks. No one in the village was so high and mighty that he would not hasten to meet the mail carrier and ply him with questions about Boston and New York and the trend of events toward the welfare of the colonies.

Perhaps the lot that befell the Puritan baby was the hardest in the colonies. Alice Morse Earle tells us that on the Sunday following the birth of a child it was taken to the meeting-house to be baptized. When we consider, she says, the cold, gloomy churches, and the breaking of the ice in the christening bowl, it might be truly recorded of many a chrisom-child: "Died of being baptized." One cruel parson, she tells us, believed in infant immersion.

The fireplace in colonial homes was an item of much importance. Governor Eaton had nineteen of them in his house, and Parson Davenport thirteen, and yet they could not keep warm. It was always a case of roasting one's face and freezing one's back. Fierce, icy blasts blew down the great chimneys, and Cotton Mather noted in his journal on a January Sabbath, in 1697, that as he shivered before "a great fire, that the juices forced out at the end of short billets of wood by the heat of the flames on which they lay, yett froze into ice on their coming out."

No more interesting description of the New England fireplace can be found than that given us by Mrs. Alice Morse Earle in her "Customs and Fashions in Old New England":

"Around the great, glowing fireplace in an old New England kitchen centered all of the homeliness and comfort that could be found in a New England home. The very aspect of the domestic hearth was picturesque and must have been a beneficent influence. In earlier days the great lug-pole, or as it was called in England, the backbar, stretched from ledge to ledge, or lug to lug, high up the yawning chimney, and held a motley collection of pothooks and trammels, of gib-crokes, twicrokes, and hakes, which in turn suspended at various heights over the fire, pots, kettles, and other cooking utensils. In the hearth corners were displayed skillets and trivets, peels and slices, and on either side were chimney-seats and settles. Above, on the clavel-piece, were festooned strings of dried apples, pumpkins, peppers, and ears of corn."

Mrs. Earle tells us that the lug-pole often became brittle or charred and let its weight of precious cooking utensils into the fire, and the Puritans were glad to adopt a Yankee invention known as a crane, made of iron. And so we have Longfellow's poem, "The Hanging of the Crane." Besides the cooking utensils there were the andirons, the tongs, the long, brass-handled shovel, and the bellows. All these things we prize now as heirlooms, but do we ever think of the discomfort and inconvenience they symbolize of early colonial days? When we think of the fireplace, we think of the spinning-wheel too. All the yarn was spun in the homes, and in some homes the weaving was done, too. Early colonial days are known as the age of the homespun.

From the hardships and difficulties that attended courting in colonial times, it would seem that not all the world loved a lover. The family always kept an eye on the lovers. Their courting was done in the living-room in the presence of father, mother, brother, and sister. For their convenience a hollow tube, called a whispering rod, was placed in their hands, and through this they poured all their billing and cooing. The magistrate seemed to think young men needed protection against the wiles of the fair sex. In 1660, it is recorded that Jacob Muiline went into the room with Sarah Tuttle, and, seizing her hands, kissed her. The court asked Sarah if Jacob had "inveigled her affections," and she answered spiritedly,

"No!" So they fined Sarah instead of Jacob, and called her a "Bould Virgin."

Not much fuss was made over a wedding. The bans had to be published at least once in the meeting-house. It was not uncommon for the lover to drive over to the home of his sweetheart Saturday morning and ask her to become his bride. The mother would be baking, and it would not be much trouble to bake a little extra for the wedding feast; the prospective bride would find a suitable white dress among her gowns; the bans would be published Sunday morning, and the wedding follow in the evening.

Bachelors were in disfavor in the community. They were not allowed to live alone, and were not even allowed to choose their residences. They were under special surveillance, and in 1695 a law was passed making it compulsory for every unmarried man in the township to kill six blackbirds or three crows while he remained single. As a penalty for not doing it, he should not be married until he obeyed the order.

Puritan ministers did not perform the ceremony of marriage, this duty falling to the lot of the magistrate. Governor Bellingham married himself to Penelope Pelham when he was a short time a widower and forty-nine years old and his bride but twenty-two. When he was "brought up" for this irregularity, he persisted in remaining on the bench to try his own case. One man persisted in "taking a wife"

without any legal or religious ceremony. One day the magistrate met him and asked: "John Rogers, do you persist in calling this woman, a servant, so much younger than yourself your wife?"

"Yes, I do," violently answered John.

"And do you, Mary, want such an old man as this for your husband?"

"Indeed, I do," she answered.

"Then," said the magistrate coldly, "by the laws of God and this commonwealth, I, as a magistrate, pronounce you man and wife."

And they were legally married in spite of themselves.

The funeral and burial customs were even stranger than their marriage customs. Nothing was read, nor was any sermon preached or psalm sung. The neighbors came together by the tolling of the bell and solemnly the dead was carried to his grave, his friends standing by while he was buried. Funeral poems and elegies were written and published, and at the wake, something after the nature of the present Irish wake, his friends thought of all the good things they could say about him. An invitation to the funeral came in the form of a pair of gloves and a funeral ring. The gloves might be black or white, and the rings were engraved with mottos, such as, "Death parts united hearts," "Prepare for death," "Prepared be to follow me," etc. Other funeral rings bore a family crest in black enamel. Much money was also spent for funeral baked meats and liquor. It was often necessary to

spend a large part of a man's estate to bury him decently. Even town paupers had two or three gallons of rum or a barrel of cider given by the town to serve as "speeding libations at their unmourned funerals."

The story of colonial New England and Virginia is stormy and tempestuous compared with the Acadian repose with which life rippled on for a hundred years on the green shores of the Delaware. From the arrival of Penn to the Revolution there are no points of exciting interest in the history of Pennsylvania. The Indians were friendly. Their children romped in the dooryards of the white families. There were no religious feuds, for Penn was a man of boundless catholicity. All sects were freely welcomed to Pennsylvania. He was a Quaker, but he founded no church. He was an enthusiast, but not a bigot. His province presents, therefore, the spectacle of a colony founded by religious zealots in which there was perfect tolerance.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the improved social conditions of eastern Pennsylvania than the changed facilities for travel. As late as 1783 there were eight populous townships in Bucks County in which there was not a single pleasure carriage of any sort. In that year, a full century after Penn's arrival, there was one "chariot" owned in the entire region. A chariot was as high up in the world as a vehicle could then aspire. In two of the townships, then as now among the wealthiest in Bucks, there was not a two-horse wagon used until 1745. For

sixty years goods and passengers were transported on horseback. The distance to the store, the meeting-house, the smithy, and election places was great, and much time must have been consumed by the early settlers in going to them.

The garb of the Pennsylvanians in the first century finds no imitation in the modern fashion-plate. Dr. Watson, an authority on Pennsylvania's early history, says that the laboring men wore buckskin for breeches, jackets of hemp and tow, wool hats, strong shoes with brass buckles, and linsey and leather aprons. A "well-groomed" gentleman wore a coat with three or four plaits in the skirt wadded like a coverlet, cuffs to the elbow, and a broad-brimmed beaver hat. A woman in full fashion wore stiff whalebone stays worth eight or ten dollars, silk gown plaited in the back, sleeves twice as large as the arm, "locquet" buttons, and long-armed gloves. Brides in addition to this wore a long black hood.

Property in slaves was quite common among the colonists in Bucks for a long time. There is little novelty in the statement that the early Pennsylvanians, as well as the inhabitants of the other colonies, kept human chattels, but the fact is brought vividly to mind when one finds in some of the old inventories of property human beings repeatedly inventoried with cattle, implements, and products.

The ancient courts of the county were much more largely attended in proportion to the inhabitants than they are now. The news that court would set went

abroad by word of mouth, and the colonists came long distances to attend the sessions. It was a great time for the exchanging of "bits of tattle" afloat in far-off neighborhoods. The old records are full of proceedings against prisoners for debt. Sometimes the debtor was discharged by making satisfaction to his creditor "by servitude"; that is, he was sentenced by the court to serve each creditor long enough to discharge the debt. Robert Lawrence, in 1765, was sentenced to serve twenty creditors in succession. The limit of his temporary slavery was seven hundred and twenty-four days. When the debt was under ten pounds, and the debtor was a soldier "in His Majesty's service," he was discharged.

Among the interesting things in colonial Pennsylvania were the old inns, or taverns. They were introduced from England, and with them came the old sign-boards, some of which gave names to the English inns for generations before they were set up in this country. The horse was repeatedly honored on these signs. He appeared in all colors, such as "The Sorrel Horse," "The Black Horse," "The Wagon and the Horse," etc. There was also "The Lion," "The Elephant," "The Bull's Head," "The White Bear." Agricultural implements and products also came in for representation on these signs. There was "The Harrow," "The Barley Sheaf," and "The Plow." Out on the highways were "The Halfway House," "The Traveler's Rest," "The Drover," and other appropri-

ate names. Along the river were "The Anchor," "The Waterman," "The Deck Boat," etc.

Penn dealt kindly with the Indians, and they requited him with a reverential love such as they evinced toward no other Englishman. The neighboring colonists waged bloody wars with the Indians who lived around them—now inflicting defeats which were almost exterminating, and again, sustaining hideous massacres. Penn's Indians were his children and most loyal subjects. No drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by Indian hand in the Pennsylvania territory. Soon after Penn's arrival he invited the chief men of the Indian tribes to a conference. The meeting took place beneath a huge elm tree. The pathless forest has long given way to the houses and streets of Philadelphia, but a marble monument points out to strangers the site of this memorable interview. Penn, with a few companions, unarmed and dressed according to the simple fashion of their sect, met the crowd of formidable savages. They met, he assured them, as brothers "on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will." No advantage was to be taken on either side. All was to be "openness and love." Strong in the power of truth and kindness, he bent the fierce savages of the Delaware to his will. They vowed "to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the moon and sun shall endure." They kept their vow. Long years after, they were known to recount to strangers, with deep emotion

the words which Penn had spoken to them under the old elm tree of Shakamaxon.

From the beginning, the colonies contained many noted students of natural science. The soils, minerals, plants, and animals of the new continent were all objects of keen research. Linnæus, the noted Swedish naturalist, declared John Bartram, the Quaker gardener of Philadelphia, to be the "greatest natural botanist in the world." Virginia and the more southerly colonies had several botanists of European fame. But the scientific reputation of America was established when Franklin, the sage of Philadelphia, drew about him other gentlemen of kindred tastes and formed the American Philosophical Society. It was an important bond of union among the best men in all the colonies.[b]

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

AT the close of the Revolutionary War, the colonists found themselves in possession of a vast tract of land beyond the Alleghanies, extending to the Mississippi River, of which they knew comparatively little. It was something of magnitude that the original colonies, comprising 341,752 square miles, should add to their domain 488,248 square miles. Some of this great prize was included in the settled boundary lines of the colonies, and it is not surprising that a question of real ownership should come up. Those states that had no claim by right of boundary thought that the land should be held for the common benefit. Finally the states having boundary claims ceded them to the United States, and the federal government became owner of the vast tract. Sparks, in his "Expansion of the American People," says that "the national government might have held this land as subject territory and have treated its future inhabitants as colonists. Such had been the custom in past history. But under the guiding hand of Thomas Jefferson, all that portion lying north and west of the Ohio River, a total of 265,878 square miles, was erected into a temporary territory, whose inhabitants were to enjoy the rights and privileges of the old states, with few exceptions. Further, even these

exceptions were to be removed, and any portion erected into a state on a perfect equality with the other states whenever a sufficient number of inhabitants should render such action advisable." The number of inhabitants stipulated by the Ordinance of 1787 governing the Northwest Territory was sixty thousand.

By purchase and otherwise 2,666,854 square miles have been added to the original domain, and the thirteen states have increased to forty-six, with other territories waiting for admission.

Much has been said of the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation, and the Continental Congress has had its share of abuse, but, to its credit, let it be said that it originated "the public domain" and is responsible for the expansion of the nation by the addition of new states.

When one considers that Louisville was founded one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Jamestown, one is apt to look upon the progress as slow, and to think that one hundred and seventy years was a long time for our ancestors to take in crossing the mountains. But once over the mountains, affairs moved forward more rapidly, and the campaign of 1860 brought the presidency to Illinois, and that of 1896 took still a longer stride in going to Nebraska for a candidate.

The great hindrance that presented itself to the entering into and occupying the new country across the mountains was lack of communication between the different parts of the country. The Alleghany

Mountains was a barrier on the west, and there was but one known way over them. From the Indians, Virginia and Pennsylvania traders had learned to go up the Potomac River to the mouth of Wills' Creek, now the site of Cumberland, Maryland. Then they followed the trail over intervening ridges to the Youghiogheny, down which they drifted into the Monongahela, and so on into the Ohio.

The first tide of western immigration turned southward. The Virginians were more adventurous than their northern neighbors and more wandering in their dispositions. Their chief crop was tobacco, the raising of which quickly exhausted the soil. There were restless pioneers among them, like Daniel Boone. They had heard of the broad meadows covered sparsely with trees, of the "blue grass," "the mineral springs," and "the salt licks," where the buffalo and deer had lowered the ground perceptibly over many acres by licking its salt surface. The deer and buffalo would provide them with food, and so Daniel Boone and his hardy companions pushed forward into Kentucky. It was a county of Virginia first, then Transylvania, and finally the state of Kentucky, being the fifteenth state in the Union, the second one admitted after the Revolution.

The buffalo had roamed the hills and meadows of Kentucky before the Virginians came, and had been the natural pathfinders, searching out water courses and feeding places. Daniel Boone found, when looking for a path from the western Virginia valleys to

the Kentucky region, that all the buffalo paths converged at the Cumberland gap. And so he laid out a road two hundred miles long, passing through the gap into the blue-grass region. Afterwards the Virginia legislature accepted the road as a legal way to their Kentucky possessions. Later the Kentucky legislature adopted this road as one of its thoroughfares and placed a toll on it for its repair. Finally it crossed the Ohio and passed through St. Vincent (now Vincennes, Indiana) to the French settlement in Illinois. It was the famous "Wilderness Road."

Kentucky was the most individualized of the early states, and its history is typical with the various movements which have perplexed the nation, and involves almost every problem with which the nation has had to deal. Throughout the nineteenth century Kentucky produced men who have filled posts of honor. While no president has ever been elected who was at the time of his election a citizen of the State, Taylor and Lincoln were both born within her borders. Richard N. Johnson and John C. Breckenridge represented Kentucky in the Vice-Presidency, while men like Clay, the four Breckenridges, Crittenden, Carlisle, and many others have been leading spirits in the Senate and House of Representatives. She has had her fair share, and more, on the supreme bench and at foreign capitals. In the pulpit and at the bar she has occupied a conspicuous position. And this despite the unfortunate division of the State into two almost hostile sections, growing out of the inevitable

difference in the population of the barren mountains, whose rich mineral wealth is just now being developed, and that of her fertile valleys. Her school system has long been upon the best basis, both financially and educationally.

You know there is sort of a joke attached to Kentucky, that nearly all her men of importance are colonels, and that they like above all things else to talk of their descent from the English nobility. And perhaps the men have aimed too much to be strong, brave, and accomplished; the women have valued beauty and the amenities of life beyond their due; the libraries have been filled with old books rather than new, and they have been learned rather than read. Notwithstanding this, there is much of the spirit of the backwoodsman still lingering in Kentucky. It has been said that, as Arthur's horn still echoes through the valleys of Cornwall, so the crack of the rifle of Daniel Boone may still be heard among the rugged mountains of Kentucky.

Among the foothills of the mountains there is a little stream known as Lulbegrund Creek, and the story is told in an old pioneer's diary of how a little band of early settlers camped one day upon this stream and in the evening gathered round the camp-fire, when Daniel Boone took out of his pocket a little book, which was "The Travels of One Gulliver," and read to them about the town of Lulbegrund, and they gave this name to the stream upon whose banks they had lighted their camp-fire.

The territory west and north of the Ohio River was not taken up and settled as early as that on the south for several reasons. One, and perhaps the principal one, was that the Indians disregarded the treaty of Fort Stanwix, New York, giving the white man a right to penetrate the trans-Alleghanian region. Another was that the ownership of the land was contested. Finally, when the disputed claims were yielded, and good faith with the Indians had been established, the government conceived the idea of selling these lands for the benefit of the public treasury. Thomas Hutchins, "Geographer of the United States," was ordered to make a survey of the public lands, preparatory to offering them for sale. He adopted the rectangular system, and platted into townships six miles square. Each township was subdivided into thirty-six equal shares called sections. Each section was a mile square, and contained six hundred and forty acres. The section was subdivided by emphasizing the middle cross lines into groups of fours, or "quarters," designated as northeast, southeast, etc. And so we have the beginning of the system of "public lands."

These lands were sold at the nominal sum of one dollar an acre. In every township lot sixteen was reserved for the maintenance of public schools, and one-third of all gold, silver, lead, and copper was kept for the benefit of the general government. These first public lands are represented by the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that

part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi. Speaking of this experiment of Congress, Sparks says that "speculators and swindlers flocked into the land offices when they were opened. Large blocks of land fell into the hands of a few men, and for a time a system of foreign landlordism threatened. But with all the abuse connected with the disposal of the public lands, it was fulfilling its best purpose in being parceled out among the people for the making of their homes."

The peopling of this Northwest Territory by companies from the Eastern States, such as the Ohio Company, under the leadership of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Mass., furnish many interesting historic incidents. The first towns to be established were Marietta, Zanesville, Chillicothe, and Cincinnati. After the Ohio Company came the Connecticut Company, that secured all the territory bordering Lake Erie, save a small portion known as fire lands and another portion known as congress lands. The land taken up by the Connecticut people was called the Western Reserve, and was settled almost entirely by New England people. The remainder of the state of Ohio was settled by Virginians and Pennsylvanians. On account of the British having control of the lakes Ontario and Erie, the Massachusetts and Connecticut people made their journey into the Western Reserve through the southern part of the State. General Moses Cleaveland, the agent for the Connecticut Land Company, led a body of surveyors to the tract, venturing

by way of Lake Ontario. He quieted the Indian claims to the eastern portion of the reserve, by giving them five hundred pounds, two head of cattle and one hundred gallons of whisky. Landing at the mouth of the Conneaut River, General Moses Cleaveland and his party of fifty, including two women, celebrated Independence Day, 1796, by a feast of pork and beans with bread. A little later a village was established at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, which was given the name of Cleaveland, in honor of the agent of the company. It is related that the name was afterward shortened to Cleveland by one of the early editors because he could not get so many letters into the heading of his newspaper.

And so the country beyond the Alleghanies was prepared for the opportunities of a higher civilization. Schools and colleges were soon organized, the land was put under splendid cultivation and rewarded the inhabitants with abundant crops. The Western States grew in wealth so rapidly that they were enabled to establish colleges to be maintained from the public fund. At Athens was founded the Ohio University, and at Oxford, fourteen miles from Cincinnati, the Miami University, both supported by the State. These colleges are still maintained, though Miami is partially self-supporting.

In 1805 the Western Reserve College was established at Hudson, Ohio, being the first educational institution in the northern part of the State. The site of the college was purchased from the Connecticut

Company, who owned the Western Reserve, hence the name of the institution. Besides these there were several smaller colleges established by religious denominations. At the time of the establishing of these western institutions of learning, Old Harvard was one hundred and sixty-four years old, William and Mary one hundred and seven, and Yale, after which the Western Reserve was modeled, even to its buildings and surroundings, was one hundred years old. The citizens of the United States at this period commenced to evince a national pride in its institutions, discouraging the sending of her young men to Europe for an education.

A review of the old magazines and newspapers of these early days gives one an idea of the rapidity with which the genius of invention was moving over the New World. We read of a drill machine for seeding, a windmill, a sun-dial, fire-escapes, the steamboat, the cotton-gin, etc. Patents for making candles, flour, and meal, punches for types, and distilling followed. During the first three years after the Revolution there were sixty-seven patents issued. Sparks says that the number continued small until after the War of 1812 threw America on her own resources and so secured an industrial independence.

Before the Revolution and in the first decade of the Union, the seat of government had been shifted from point to point without any seeming settled abiding-place, and the necessity soon became evident for a center of government. After casting about for some

suitable location, a point at the junction of the eastern branch with the Potomac proper, just above Alexandria, was selected on account of the splendid facilities for shipping interests and a navy-yard. Ten miles square was demanded by the government for its seat, and in April, 1791, a corner boundary stone was set with Masonic ceremonies, and ten-mile lines were run at right angles, from the ends of which the square was completed. The land enclosed thereby was named the Territory of Columbia, afterward changed to the District of Columbia. To the city in the center was given, by universal consent, the name of Washington. The district embraced the towns of Alexandria, Georgetown, Hamburg, Carrollsburg, and several other villages. In September, 1793, the work on the capitol had so far progressed that the corner-stone was laid, President Washington acting as Worshipful Master of the Masonic ceremonies. The proper salutes were fired by the Alexandria Volunteer Artillery. The newspapers of the day recorded that "a procession took place amid a brilliant crowd of spectators of both sexes." Later all repaired to "an extensive booth where an ox of five hundred pounds' weight was barbecued, of which the company generally partook with every abundance of other recreation."

The purchase of the territory west of the Mississippi River, known as the Louisiana Purchase, made by President Jefferson, is familiar to all. It was one of the most important moves ever made by

the United States. Of the purchase Jefferson said: "The territory acquired has more than doubled the area of the United States, and the new part is not inferior to the old in soil, climate, productions, and important communications." He would use the newly acquired territory immediately by removing thither all the Indians east of the river, and opening their lands to settlement. "When we shall be full on this side," he said, "we may lay off a range of states on the western bank from head to mouth, and so, range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply." All sorts of ridicule was directed at President Jefferson for his purchase, which at that time was considered very unwise. Federal newspapers said that the mountain would be found to be crowned by a salt American eagle; another that it was simply Lot's wife magnified by the process of time. Other writers insisted that the Louisiana country contained a spring from which poured golden eagles already coined; that there was a mountain of refined sugar and a lake of pure whisky. This ridicule was called forth by Jefferson's report to Congress, for which he had to rely on exaggerated material from French books and French travelers.

For many days after the purchase the French flag continued to float from its staff in the Place d'Armes, until a message from Napoleon confirmed the sale. On Dec. 20, 1803, Laussat met the American commissioners in the city hall, and after a simple ceremony of delivering the keys, all walked out on

the balcony. The French flag was lowered to half-mast and the stars and stripes raised to the same point. While they remained there, a salute was fired. Then the United States flag slowly mounted to the top of the staff, and the French flag descended, to be caught by a sergeant-major and wrapped around his body. In that way it was carried to Laussat, escorted by fifty old French soldiers of the city who had kept voluntary guard during the short period it floated. The transfer of Louisiana, says Sparks, from whom we take the above description, was one of the few voluntary surrenders of dominion in the world's history. It was the final exit of France from the American continent.

The settlement of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains began with the Lewis and Clark expedition, the details of which are so familiar as not to need recounting. The annexation of Texas and the conquest of California also need no minute description. Gold as a factor in American expansion was of importance, and hastened the settlement of the far West by bringing emigrants from all parts of the world, and adventurers from the East and Middle West of our own continent. The "prairie schooner" has left its trail across the continent, and civilization has wiped out completely the American frontier.

"It is a far cry," says Sparks, "from the Indian wigwam to the comfortable American home and from the packhorse of the pioneer to the palatial railway train. But the transformation was accomplished

through the expansion of the American people within two and a half centuries." In dealing with the question of expansion fully, it is necessary to speak of the evolution of the various national institutions, our laws, religion, education, manufactures, and inventions, and these we hope to survey briefly in future chapters. As Sparks says, "the interior conquest of the country being now complete, the frontier disappears, and the hunger for land and trade brings this isolated and peaceful country into a foreign war and the world's councils. The cycle of intercontinental expansion having ended, the era of extracontinental expansion is inaugurated. Whether for better or for worse, the United States finds itself entering on the Old-World policy of external possessions. The verdict lies sealed in the hand of time. But the success of the past is the hope of the future."

In considering extracontinental expansion, we shall have to take into account the Panama Canal and its probable effect on our commerce, especially on our Latin-American trade. When the ships of all the world brim the Culebra Cut, the beginning of a new era, commercially and industrially, will be marked. The Canal is certain to prove one of the greatest channels of immigration and commerce in the world. South America is still an undeveloped country, and the opening of the Canal will bring steamship lines to the West Coast, which is now practically inaccessible. The big business, the big loans we are floating, and the railroads we are building today in South America are

substantial boulders which will hold open, against the attacks of our trade rivals, the door of commercial opportunity in that country. In one decade, from 1901 to 1911, our exports to South America increased 288 per cent. In that period the total trade of South America increased somewhat more than 150 per cent. Today the Argentine Republic stands ninth among our customers; in 1900 she was fourteenth. Brazil stands fourteenth; ten years ago she was sixteenth. This is only a promise of what our commerce will be with Latin America when the Canal is completed, for that great waterway will carry something more than the commerce of the nations. In the steerage of its ships will be future nations, and a tide of immigration will sweep from East to West, such as once surged across our own country, and South America will be revolutionized industrially and politically. It is not probable that the United States will let the grass grow under her feet. And yet, with our national characteristic, "cosmopolitanism," there is a danger to guard against. That is, the inclination of the typical American to direct his ambition toward an ideal life beyond the eastern seas, rather than to a life of generous struggle in its own western territory? The expansion of America should bring with it the deepening of Americanism, and the highest of all virtues in a citizen should be love of country.[c]

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES OF A QUARTER CENTURY

I SHALL try to enumerate sundry differences between the United States of 1913 and the United States of 1870 or 1883. That which is most noticed in America to-day is its prodigious material development. Industrial growth, swift thirty or forty years ago, advances more swiftly now. The rural districts are being studded with villages, the villages are growing into cities, the cities are stretching out long arms of suburbs which follow the lines of road and railway in every direction. The increase of wealth, even more remarkable than the increase of population, impresses a European more deeply now than ever before because the contrast with Europe is greater. In America every class seems rich compared with the corresponding class in the Old World. The huge fortunes, the fortunes of those whose income reaches or exceeds a million dollars a year, are, of course, far more numerous than in any other country. But the absence of pauperism is still more remarkable. In 1870 I carefully examined the poor-law system of two great Eastern cities, and found that, although there were very few persons needing or receiving support at the public expense, the number was expected to grow steadily and quickly as the cities grew. To-day I am told that in these cities pauperism, though

of course absolutely larger, increases more slowly than population.

Life has for a long time been comfortable and easy for the working man and the clerk and shopman, as compared with life for the like class in Europe. But for the classes standing next above the laborers in point of income, life was in 1870 in general plain and simple, simpler than the life led by the richer class in England or France. Luxury was then confined to a very few. Simplicity is not so common today. The "easier life," however, does not mean that life is taken easily. It consists in having and spending more money, not in doing less work. Everybody, from the workman to the millionaire, has a larger head of steam on than his father had. Time is more precious. More pains is taken to save it. More work is squeezed into the hour and the day.

In this age, more than in any preceding age, wealth means power, offensive power in war as well as financial power in peace. It was an old and favorite commonplace of political moralists that the rich nations, dwelling in fertile plains and enervated by luxury, became the victims of the poor nations, who, inhabiting barren mountains, were hardier and fiercer in fight. It is not so now. Naval war is, above all things, an affair of scientific apparatus, of ironclads, of torpedoes, of guns with long range and quick fire. Land war depends on the best artillery, the best rifles and ammunition, the best commissariat. War is an affair of science, and science is costly. All the great

nations can produce good fighting men, and all may happen to have a good general. But some have far greater pecuniary resources than others. None has resources comparable to those of the United States. The Republic is as wealthy as any two of the greatest European nations, and is capable, if she chooses, of quickly calling into being a vast fleet and a vast army. Her wealth and power has in it something almost alarming.

With this extraordinary material development it is natural that, in the United States, business, that is to say industry, commerce, and finance, should have more and more come to overshadow and dwarf all other interests, all other occupations. Every European who visited the country since the beginning of the last century seems to have been struck by this fact. It is more striking now than it was thirty-five years ago. But the contrast with Europe is not greater now than it was then. Rather is it less, for in this respect England and Germany have been following in America's footsteps. In them, too, business interests hold a far more conspicuous place than formerly. The landowner, the professional man, the man of letters, are in those countries relatively less important than they were; the financier, the manufacturer, more important. Business is king. In American society, as I have said, this feature is an old one. One illustration sustains this view. Lawyers are now, to a greater extent than formerly, business men, a part of the great organized system of industrial and financial enterprise.

They are less than formerly students of a particular kind of learning, the practitioners of a peculiar art. And they do not seem to be quite so much of a distinct professional class. Some one seventy years ago called them the aristocracy of the United States, meaning that they led public opinion in the same way as the aristocracy of England led opinion there. They still comprise a large part of the intellect of the nation. But one is told that they do not take so keen an interest in purely legal and constitutional questions as they did in the days of Story and Webster, or even in those of William M. Evarts and Charles O'Connor. Business is king.

Commerce and industry themselves have developed new features. Twenty-five years ago there were no trusts; and trade-unions, though they existed, were much less powerful, much less pervasive, much less thoroughly organized. Even then, however, corporations had covered a larger proportion of the whole field of industry and commerce in America than in Europe, and their structure was more flexible and more efficient. To-day this is still more the case; while as for trusts, they have become one of the most salient phenomena of the country. They fix the attention, they excite the alarm, of economists and politicians as well as of traders in the Old World, while they exercise and baffle the ingenuity of American legislators. Working men follow, though hitherto with unequal steps, the efforts at combination which the lords of production and distribution have been ma-

king. The consumer stands by, if not with folded hands, yet with so far no clear view as to the steps which he may take for his own protection. Perhaps his prosperity—for he is prosperous—helps him to be acquiescent.

The example of the United States, the land in which individualism has been most conspicuously vigorous, may seem to suggest that the world is passing out of a stage of individualism and returning to that earlier stage in which groups of men formed the units of society. The bond of association was, in those early days, kinship, real or supposed, and a servile or quasi-servile dependence of the weak upon the strong. Now it is the power of wealth which enables the few to combine so as to gain command of the sources of wealth; and the stronger the employers become and the less they have a personal tie (such as employers once had) with the workmen, so much the more do the workmen feel compelled to try how they can advance their material interests by the use of similar methods. In both cases there is a loss of that individual liberty which the last generation was taught to expect from the progress of civilization. Power becomes concentrated in a few hands, be they those of the men who control the trusts or those of the men who lead the unions. Is it a paradox to observe that it is because the Americans have been the most individualistic of peoples, they are now the people among whom the art of combination has reached its maximum?

We are ceasing to be a folk of country dwellers, for the reason that the greater cities extend themselves with amazing speed, and that many areas are becoming so covered with villages as to differ little from cities. There is a general disposition to migrate from rural districts to centers of population, where a brisker life and more amusements can be enjoyed. The change is all the more remarkable because agriculture continues to be prosperous. It has been accelerated by those applications of machinery to agricultural work which enable a farm to be worked by a smaller staff than was formerly needed. Whenever one travels in the Eastern and Northern States, one sees new towns rising along the lines of the railroads, and the older towns spreading out. The eye as well as the census table tells one that the people are becoming a people subject to city influences. Already, though the population which lives outside towns with less than eight thousand inhabitants is numerically larger (almost two-thirds), still it is urban ways and habits, urban opinions, urban tendencies, that are beginning to prevail in the United States. This process goes on steadily. It will go on all the faster because the good land of the Northwest has now been practically all taken up, while even the irrigation of the dry lands of the south central West can not redress the balance by providing a new rural population to set out against the increase of the cities. The change may be regrettable. Jefferson would have regretted it. But it is unavoidable. It will tend to increase that nervous strain, that sense

of tension, which Americans are already deemed to show as compared with the more sluggish races of Europe. There will be less repose than ever in life. Health may not suffer, nor the death rate increase, for cities can now be made to show as low a mortality as most country places. Yet the physical strength of the average man may not be quite the same, and his mental constitution will almost certainly be different. It may not be inferior—indeed, it may be more alert and versatile. But it will be different.

There has been within these last thirty-five years a development of the higher education in the United States perhaps without a parallel in the world. Previously the Eastern States had but a very few universities whose best teachers were on a level with the teachers in the universities of western Europe. There were a great many institutions bearing the name of university over the Northern and Middle States and the West, and a smaller number in the South, but they gave instruction which, though in some places it was sound and thorough as far as it went, was really the instruction rather of a secondary school than of a university in the proper sense. No doubt there are still a great many whose standard of teaching and examination is that of a school, not of a true university. But there are also many which have risen to the European standard, and many others which are moving rapidly toward it. Roughly speaking, for it is impossible to speak with exactness, America has now not less than fifteen or perhaps even twenty seats

of learning fit to be ranked beside the universities of Germany, France, and England as respects the completeness of the instruction which they provide and the thoroughness at which they aim. Even more noticeable is the amplitude of the provision now made for the study of the natural sciences, and of those arts in which science is applied to practical ends. In this respect the United States has gone ahead of Great Britain, aided no doubt by the greater pecuniary resources which not a few of her universities possess, and which they owe to the wise liberality of private benefactors. In England nothing is so hard as to get money from private persons for educational purposes. Mr. Carnegie's splendid gift to the University of Scotland stands almost alone. In America nothing is so easy. There is, indeed, no better indication of the prosperity of the country and of its intelligence than the annual record of the endowments bestowed on the universities by successful business men, some of whom have never themselves had more than a common-school education.

The improvement in the range and quality of university teaching is a change scarcely more remarkable than the increased afflux of students. It seems (for I have not worked the matter out in figures, as I am giving impressions and not statistics) to have grown much faster than population has grown, and to betoken an increased desire among parents and young men to obtain a complete intellectual equipment for life. The number of undergraduates at Harvard is

much larger than is the number who resort to Oxford; the number at Yale is larger than the number at Cambridge (England). Five leading universities of the Eastern States—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Pennsylvania—count as many students as do all the universities of England. And whereas in England the vast majority of students go to prepare themselves for some profession,—law, journalism, medicine, engineering, or the ministry of the Established Church,—there is in America a considerable proportion who intend to choose a business career. It is quite generally felt that the young man is all the more likely to succeed in business if he goes to it with a mind widely and thoroughly trained.

This feature of recent American development has an important bearing on the national life. It is a counterpoise to the passion, growing always more intense, for material progress, to the eagerness to seize every chance, to save every moment, to get the most out of every enterprise. It tends to diffuse a taste for scientific and literary knowledge among a class to most of whom, in other countries, few opportunities have been opened for acquiring such a taste. It adds to the number of those who may find some occasion in their business life for turning a knowledge of natural science to practical account, and so benefiting the country as well as themselves. Nor is its social influence to be overlooked.

When I pass from the places set apart for the cultivation of letters and learning to the general state

of letters and learning in the community, it is much more difficult to formulate any positive impressions. One feels a change in the spirit of the books produced, and a change in the taste of the reading public, but one can not say exactly in what the alteration consists, nor how it has come, nor whether it will last. Literary criticism, formerly at a low ebb, seems to have sensibly improved, whereas in England many people doubt if it is as acute, as judicious, and as delicate as it was in the sixties. The love of poetry and the love of art are far more widely diffused in America than ever before; one finds, for instance, a far greater number of good pictures in private houses than could have been seen thirty years ago, and the building up of public art galleries has occupied much of the thought and skill of leading citizens, as well as required the expenditure of vast sums. Great ardor is shown in the investigation of dry subjects, such as questions of local history. The interest taken in constitutional topics and economic questions, indeed in everything that belongs to the sphere of political science, is as great as it is in Germany or France, and greater than in Britain. This interest is, indeed, confined to one class, which chiefly consists of university teachers, but it is a new and noteworthy phenomenon. Few people thought or wrote on these matters thirty years ago.

On the other hand, it is said, and that by those who have the best special opportunities of knowing, that serious books, i. e., books other than fiction and

the lighter forms of belles-lettres, find no larger sale now, when readers are more numerous and richer, than they did in the seventies. No one can fail to observe the increasing number and popularity of the magazines; and it seems likely that they are now more read, in proportion to books, than they used to be. The same thing is happening in England. It is a natural consequence of the low prices at which, owing to the vast market, magazines containing good material and abundant illustrations can be sold. It may also be due to that sense of hurry which makes the ordinary American little disposed to sit down and work his way through a book. Both these factors are more potent in the United States than they were ever before, or than they are in Europe.

If in America, as well as in England, the growth of population has not been accompanied by a growing demand for books (other than fiction), let us remember and allow for the results of another change which has passed upon both countries. It is a change which is all the more noticeable in America because it is here quite recent. It is the passion for looking on at and reading about athletic sports. The love of playing and watching games which require strength and skill is as old as mankind, and needs no explanation. But this taste in America is a thing almost of yesterday. It has now grown to vast proportions. It occupies the minds not only of the youth at the universities, but also of their parents and the general public. Baseball matches and football matches excite

an interest greater than any other public events except the Presidential election. The American love of excitement and love of competition has seized upon these games, but the fashion like that of playing golf and that of playing bridge, seems to have come from England. It is a curious instance of the more intimate social relations between the two countries that speak the same language that fashions of this kind pass so quickly from one to the other and do not pass from either to continental Europe. There has been no development of the devotion to athletic sports in Germany or in France coincident with that which is so marked a feature of modern England and so novel a feature in America.

No subject fixes the attention of the social philosophers in Europe who seek for light from the New World more than does the problem of divorce. The states of the Union have tried many experiments, and some rash experiments, in this field. The results, momentous for America, may be instructive for the rest of mankind, and are being watched with curiosity by European sociologists. There is surely a growing reaction against the laxity of procedure in divorce suits, as well as against the freedom granted by the states which have gone furthest; and though little is heard of the proposal that Congress should receive the power to pass a general divorce law for the whole country, the suggestion that efforts should be made to induce the states to introduce greater uniformity, and to make the procedure for obtaining divorce less liable

to abuse, finds increasing favor. It is encouraging to note a stronger sense, among thinking men, of the evils which laxity tends to produce.

Among minor changes which the traveler notes, he must not forget the growth of what may be called esthetic sentiment. The desire to have beauty around one, to adorn the house within and the grounds without, if not new, has developed apace since 1870. In one respect it is much more active in the United States than in most parts of Europe. In England there are none of the village improvement societies which have arisen in some of the Northern States, and especially in New England. America used to be pointed at by European censors as a country where utility was everything, and beauty nothing. No one could make such a reproach now.

The sentiment which seeks to adorn cities and improve the amenity of villages is near of kin to the sentiment which cherishes the scenes of historical events and the places associated with eminent men. Here, too, one feels in the United States the breath of a new spirit. Reverence for the past and a desire to maintain every sort of connection with it has now become a strong and growing force among educated people. A slight but significant illustration of the changed attitude may be found in the disposition to expect university and judicial officials to wear on formal occasions an official dress. Thirty years ago no such dress was worn by any functionary in the

United States except the judges of the Supreme Court sitting at Washington.

Perhaps no change in the last few years is greater than that brought about by the attitude of the people toward the liquor traffic. The case of the people against the saloon is being tried in the court of public opinion in this country, and the verdict of the ballot-box seems to be "guilty!" Forty-five millions of the people of the land, one-half of the inhabitants, are living in territory in which the liquor traffic has been forbidden by law. This reform is due entirely to the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, which began nineteen years ago to teach the Church how to use the ballot effectively against the saloon. There are 750 American pulpits open to official representatives of this League every Sunday in the year, and many of the governing councils of the various denominations have endorsed its principles, have commended its actions, and have co-operated with it in its campaigns. More and more the Catholic Church is taking a positive stand against the traffic. Archbishop Ireland was one of the founders of the National Anti-Saloon League. This liquor war will not be over in a year or a decade, nor possibly in a generation, but the American saloon is so un-American, has so little to commend itself to public favor, so much of vice and crime to provoke opposition, that it will have to go, for the advance in individual integrity to civic virtue will leave no place for it in an enlightened civilization.[d]

CHAPTER V

AMERICA'S COLONIAL POLICY

LITTLE more than a decade ago the United States was the most contented and in some ways the most provincial of the great powers, still exclusively interested in American questions, still repeating Washington's warning against "entangling alliances," still regarding any participation in world politics with curious and unconquerable timidity.

Our colonial system commenced March 30, 1867, with the purchase of Alaska, though no one would have admitted it then. It was clearly seen, though, by those who opposed the acquisition and the "dangerous policy" of purchasing outlying and non-contiguous territory.

"Few could have seen," says Sparks, "the far-reaching effects of this first expansion over non-contiguous territory. It had crept in gently, and under the thought that it ought to be contiguous and would have been so if the upper Oregon country had not been abandoned. The word 'colony' was not employed; indeed, it would have been looked upon almost with horror by the American people. Yet the first proposition to create a territorial government was scarcely considered in Congress, and the military rule which General Rousseau set up on taking possession was allowed to continue, the laws of the United

States simply being extended over the new land, and a customs district created. Here was a colony in all senses of the word, and it was to be the beginning of the American colonial system."

Sparks further says that the old colonial method of company monopoly was adopted in 1870. The government was urged to this action by "special agents" sent to examine the condition of the country. In truth, the government was helpless. It had a colony on its hands without any arrangement having been made for its control. Self-government seemed impossible. It was said that there were only one hundred and twenty-five white men in the whole country. The United States was forced into the very colonial measures which it had always condemned. But it made two exceptions. Former colonial policy made colonies profitable by taxing their inhabitants; the United States exploited Alaska through its resources. Formerly the home government extorted profits from the colony; the United States permitted corporate organizations to do it. As a result of this first experiment in farming out a colony, the United States now possesses a "squeezed orange" in Alaska; the great industries, like the salmon fisheries, wantonly exhausted or in the hands of enriched corporations, as are also the sea otter and seal fisheries; the natives starving, dying from typhoid, or destroyed through intemperate habits which the government is impotent to hinder; the colony frequently used as a refuge for carpetbaggers and disappointed candidates for

better places; and the control of the country so dispersed among the various departments of the national government that no one has sufficient power or responsibility. The past history of this first United States colony is best told in the story of "The Looting of Alaska." The nation has learned its first lesson in colonization, but it is doubtful if ever again so rich a prize as Alaska falls to its share.

During President Grant's administration there was some talk of annexing the island of Santo Domingo, its inhabitants having given consent. At another time it was proposed to extend a protectorate over both Santo Domingo and Hayti. But the industrial expansion attendant on the reconstruction period, called action away from propositions, and colonization was made to await precipitation.

This came with the annexation of Hawaii, in 1898, and the events in the Pacific Ocean that immediately followed.

Since 1825 the Sandwich Islands had been headquarters for American whale fishermen in the Pacific. Boston capital had established a trading house, imported sheep, and developed native resources. By 1897 nearly two hundred and fifty thousand tons of sugar, the entire exportation, were sent to the United States. American missionaries had entered with American trade. At intervals presidential messages called the attention of Congress to the growing American investments and the necessity of closer political relations. The native king, Kalakaua, was al-

lowed to remain undisturbed on his throne, but every effort for a number of years to secure a treaty with him was a signal failure, being defeated in the Senate, on account of the sugar interests in America.

In 1875 the king came to the United States in person and a treaty was effected, giving a monopoly to American trade. After the death of the king, in 1891, and the accession of his sister, the American and British interests clashed. By inducing the queen to abdicate, the Americans were enabled to land marines and declare a protectorate under the United States. An annexation treaty followed, but the question became involved in politics and was not adopted.

Then came the event in Manila Bay, and the consequent declaration of war with Spain. America saw the necessity of another refuge in the Pacific, and all prejudices were laid aside and Hawaii annexed.

The whole affair is so recent as to be very familiar, but Sparks tells of it so interestingly that we venture to quote again:

"The Cubans had again revolted under Spanish rule, and the United States had at last interfered. In this, as in former cases, it is impossible to separate disinterested motives from the selfishness of trade. The American people as a whole, antagonistic by inheritance to Spanish rule, although not knowing why, were moved by the highest motives in thus meddling with a neighbor's quarrels. It can not be doubted that American investors, who saw their Cuban property deteriorating under the apparently endless war-

fare, and American merchants and manufacturers, who were deprived of the former Cuban trade, assisted in bringing about intervention. In 1892, just before the last insurrection, the American trade with Cuba reached its highest point, $102,310,600; but in three years of irregular warfare it fell a total of $69,000,000.

"From a larger point of view the loss of an American man-of-war in a Spanish harbor was but the moving incident in a series. The time was ripe for elbowing the Spaniard from the hemisphere, as he had been elbowed from the continent. Only in the light of history can one comprehend the sudden outburst of anti-Spanish rage; the impulse which led a fair-minded people, noted for fair dealing, to accuse another nation of such a dastardly deed, and to be influenced into a declaration of war on the unproved charge. The mass of the people was not led by cupidity in entering upon this war, and even the government officials in the beginning were not moved by sordid purposes. But no sooner had peace come, and the nation found itself with three new possessions on hand than the old land-hunger began to assert itself. The prospect of new fields for investment of capital, and new markets for manufactured products, was too tempting, and American interests began to clamor in legislative halls. The other moving factor in government, the people, was appeased by the old-time appeal to 'patriotism.' The flag must never be hauled down. Also the old-time excuse, 'unless we take them, some one else will,' was brought out and

its power proved undiminished. But the chief obstacle to carrying out the first high ideals of the people was the one ever present in dealing with inferior races—their unfitness for self-government. It was therefore easy to argue ourselves into the belief that our 'duty' and responsibility demanded a retention of the islands until ready for self-government. Yet centuries of lack of training for citizenship can not be overcome by years or even decades of training. It is a work of evolution. In the meantime, the provinces are to all intents and purposes colonies, and can be used for the benefit of the country holding them, if such sordid motives prevail.

"The term 'colonial' is sometimes very incorrectly applied to the western territories before they became states of the United States. They are not colonies, but contiguous regions held in trust until they are placed on an equality with their rulers. The presence of Americans always promises their ultimate predominance. But in the expansion over outlying territory, beginning with Alaska, this prospect is rendered impossible for decades to come, owing to geographical, racial, and climatic conditions. They are true colonies, although this word will be used very sparingly at first.

"As a result of this territorial expansion and under these complications, the United States finds itself plunged still deeper into a colonial system. It suddenly becomes aware of the new surroundings into which it has been slowly drifting for a quarter of a

century. It finds that a new world does not make new inhabitants; that the impulses which moved men in the past are still powerful; that the weak must continue to give way to the strong.

"This new awakening must be a blow to those who supposed that the isolation which marked the youth of the United States could continue; that this exclusion during the apprenticeship meant a 'manifest destiny' varying from that of other peoples; that we were intended by some special dispensation of Providence to avoid the cupidity, the conquests, the accompanying cruelties of the onward march of that relative thing we call civilization. Having reached our majority, we see our 'plain duty' to take part in the world's counsels simply because men have hitherto done so. To avoid it would mean selfishness, egotism, and possibly disintegration. We can not escape it because we have no desire to escape it. We shall cooperate in the common duty of imposing upon others a civilization bearing the only absolute and immutable criterion of right—its survival over others. And civilization will be found kind to that generation of inferiors which shall eventually survive, although many intervening ones must perish. To harness the savage living in the stone age to the car of civilization in the steam age was death to the savage; but it meant a higher life for those of his posterity who survived."

Our colonies as we number them now are Alaska, Hawaii, Philippines, and Porto Rico, with a total

area of 3,699,076 square miles, and a population of 9,651,079. The territory nearly doubles that of the original thirteen states; the population is greater than that of the whole United States in 1820. Cuba, while in reality dependent upon the United States, can not be considered a possession. It is predicted that she will eventually be, from her own desire, one of the annexed territories.

Our most consequential colonial possession, the Philippines, makes a most satisfactory showing. It is the greatest in area and population, and the natives are rapidly reaching civilization.

Courts are organized in all the provinces, and the native and American judges constitute an able bench. The supreme court is as good and generally as efficient as that of any of the states, and commands as much respect. The administrative offices are filled by men thoroughly devoted to their work and loyal to the production of the best results.

Agricultural conditions are sometimes discouraging on account of the destructive ravages of locusts. But modern farms are being established and the most improved methods of cultivating the soil are being taught. The analysis of soils is an important branch of the work. Every effort is being made to encourage, help, and stimulate the productive capacity of the people. The production of rice, hemp, tobacco, sugar, corn, copra, and other crops can be enormously increased. An American syndicate has a fifty years'

franchise for street-railway and electric lighting in Manila. New railroads are being built into the interior, opening up much more rich territory. The building of roads, improvement of harbors, building of public buildings, and the construction and equipping of fleets keep our new possession busy.

A school system has been established throughout the islands and a thousand American teachers are devoting themselves to teaching English to the natives, and instructing the native teachers in modern methods of teaching. These American teachers are greatly appreciated by the natives, who are acquiring a knowledge of the English language with remarkable facility.

There is no political disturbance in the islands, save an occasional agitation in the Moro country and the invasions of landrones,—bands of robbers,—and these are becoming less frequent. Altogether, conditions are very favorable.

Americans have had now some fifteen years' experience in the larger imperialism. Their facility has proved to be great, but still greater is their conservatism. They have ceased to hold aloof from international politics; they are in a tentative way themselves engaging in them, but, as yet, only as an interesting diversion rather than the pursuance of a policy on the success of which they are prepared to hazard all. The questions that still arouse them are American questions.

CHAPTER VI

RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

IN studying the history of our country there is a tendency, on the part of the casual student, to shun such topics as political parties and their history. Perhaps this obtains because the idea is prevalent that such subjects are dry and uninteresting, and require, at best, a vast amount of studious application. While this may be true in a measure, it is quite necessary that one be able to grasp some of the salient points in the formation of our political parties in order to comprehend the trend of present-day history.

Beginning with the Constitutional Convention of 1787, at Philadelphia, that met to draft the Constitution of the United States, party spirit manifested itself in the attendant debates and discussions.

One of the most vexing points in the Constitution to determine was that of maintaining the freedom of the individual and independence in legislation without subordinating the states. When the Constitution was finally ratified and George Washington made president, the tendencies either for or against the ratification were still apparent through their representatives in House, Senate, and Cabinet. It was then that the supporters of a central national authority became known as Federalists. Alexander Ham-

ilton, Secretary of the Treasury, advocated vesting the central federal authority with large powers, while Jefferson, the Secretary of State, would confine its action to foreign affairs alone. Even yet "state sovereignty" bobs up occasionally like a ghost that will not down.

Very early in governmental history there occurred an event that consolidated the opponents of the Federalists into an independent party. This was the creation of the French Republic and its declaration of war against England. The Federalists counseled neutrality, but "the party of Jefferson," says Hon. James Bryce in his "American Commonwealth," "were pervaded by sympathy with French ideas, were hostile to England, whose attitude continued to be discourteous, and sought to restrict the interference of the central government with the states, and to allow the fullest play to sentiment of state independence." The new party adopted the name of Republicans or Democratic Republicans, and in its principles originated the present Democrat party.

In tracing the progress of the two parties it will be seen that, because of the weakness of the old Confederation, the people were inclined to cling to a strong central power. Under the administration of John Adams, however, the Federalists are said to have made some grave errors, and the election of 1800 resulted in their defeat. In 1804 their strongest supporter, Alexander Hamilton, died, and the party never recovered from its overthrow.

"The disappearance of the Federal party," says Bryce, "between 1815 and 1820 left the Republicans master of the field. But in the United States if old parties vanish, nature quickly produces new ones. Sectional division soon arose among the men who joined in electing Monroe in 1820, and under the influence of personal hostility of Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson, two great parties were again formed (about 1830), which some few years later absorbed the minor groups. One of these two parties carried on, under the name of Democrats, the dogmas and traditions of the Jeffersonian Republicans. It was the defender of states' rights and of a restrictive construction of the Constitution; it leant mainly on the South and farming classes generally, and it was therefore inclined to free trade. The other section, which called itself at first the National Republican, ultimately the Whig party, represented many of the views of the former Federalists, such as their advocacy of a tariff for the protection of manufactures, and of the expenditure of public money on internal improvements. It was willing to increase the army and navy, and like the Federalists found its chief, though by no means its sole, support in the commercial and manufacturing parts of the country, that is to say, in New England and the Middle States."

Just at this time (1819) came up the question of admitting Missouri into the Union as a slave state. The Northerners voted solidly against it, the Southerners for it. The following year, however, a com-

promise was adopted, and Missouri was admitted with the privilege of slavery. An act was passed prohibiting slavery in the future north of latitude 36° 30′.

After 1840 the cause of abolition commenced to gain strength, and by 1850 had become the all-absorbing question of the day. The line was drawn closely between the North and the South, and in 1852 the Democratic party had become almost wholly identified with the South in favor of slavery, and it was then that northern Democrats were given the opprobrious name, "copperheads."

Bryce cites the singularity of the fact that just at this time Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the orators of the Whig party, died, followed two years later by the death of Calhoun.

Then, there were a number of minor parties wasting their forces, including the "Know-nothings," the "Free Soilers," and the "Liberty" party. After the declaration of the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, that Congress had no power to forbid slavery anywhere in the United States, the storm-cloud burst in all its fury. The Democrats in 1860 could not agree on a presidential candidate; the three minor parties joined the Whigs under the name of Republicans and elected Abraham Lincoln president. Thus we see the Republican party at its very beginning winning a victory over the Supreme Court, declaring that Congress had a right to forbid slavery, and defending the Union. Then came the second great

crisis in the history of the United States, the Civil War.

In 1912 public opinion again enforced its claims. In July of that year a public Call was made for the Convention of the Progressive Party, and on the fifth day of August there was born into the political life of the United States a new party; a party that, its advocates claim, sprang from "the life and daily problems of the people." The history of its so-far short existence and its summary defeat last fall are too fresh in our minds to need recapitulation.

PUBLIC OPINION AS A FACTOR

One does not have to be particularly acute to perceive that public opinion has much to do with the formation of new political parties and the final settlement of all questions of vital concern to the nation. We have seen its action in the slavery question, civil service reform, revision of the tariff, territorial expansion; and we are having a fair example of it to-day in numerous live questions, such as capital and labor, and public ownership—and public opinion will settle them.

It will be interesting to look for a moment at public opinion in America as analyzed by the keen insight of James Bryce. He says:

"In America, opinion is not made but grows. Of course, it must begin somewhere; but it is often hard to say where or how. As there are in the country a vast number of minds similar in their knowledge, beliefs, and attitude, with few exceptionally power-

ful minds applying themselves to politics, it is natural that the same idea should often occur to several or many persons at the same time, that each event as it occurs should produce the same impression and evoke the same comments over a wide area. When everybody desires to agree with the majority, and values such accord more highly than the credit of originality, this tendency is all the stronger. An idea once launched, or a view on some current question propounded, flies everywhere on the wings of a press eager for novelties. Publicity is the easiest thing in the world to obtain; but as it is attainable by all nations, phrases, and projects, wise and foolish alike, the struggle for existence—that is to say, for public attention— is severe."

There is something of a hit at the inferiority of our method of procedure in the above paragraph, but there is no question but that Americans need just now to see themselves as others see them, and if we invite criticism, we should do so with the assurance that we have an epidermis thick enough to stand the pressure.

"Here as well as everywhere else," says Mr. Bryce, "some one person or group must make a beginning, but, whereas in Europe men can generally note who does make the beginning, in America a view often seems to arise spontaneously, and to be the work of many rather than of few. The individual counts for less, the mass counts for more. In propagating a doctrine not hitherto advanced by any party, the methods used are similar to those of the old country. A central society is formed, branch societies spring up over the country, a journal is started, and if the

movement thrives, an annual convention of its supporters is held, at which speeches are made and resolutions adopted."

Mr. Bryce says that when opinion is organized for the formation of a particular view or proposition, it has in the United States three courses open to it:

"The first is to capture one or the other of the great parties, i. e., to persuade or frighten that party into adopting this view as part of its programme, or, to use the technical term, making it a plank of the platform, in which case the party candidates will be bound to support it. This is the most effective course, but the most difficult; for a party is sure to have something to lose as well as to gain by embracing a new dogma.

"The second course is for the men who hold the particular view to declare themselves a new party, put forward their own programme, run their own candidates. Besides being costly and troublesome, this course would be thought ridiculous when the view or proposition is not one of first-rate importance, which has already obtained wide support. Where, however, it is applicable it is worth taking, even when the candidates can not be carried, for it serves as an advertisement, and it alarms the old party, from which it withdraws voting strength.

"The third is to cast the voting weight of the organized promoters of the doctrine or view in question into the scale of whichever party shows the greatest friendliness, or seems most open to conversion.

As in many states the regular parties are pretty evenly balanced, even a comparatively weak body of opinion may decide the result. Such a body does not necessarily forward its own view, for the candidates whom its vote carries are nowise pledged to its programme. But it has made itself felt, shown itself a power to be reckoned with, improved its chances of capturing one or other of the regular parties, or of running candidates of its own on some future occasion.

" So far we have been considering the case of persons advocating some specific opinion or scheme. As respects the ordinary conduct of business by officials and legislators, the fear of popular displeasure to manifest itself at the next election is, of course, the most powerful of restraining influences. Under a system of balanced authorities, such fear helps to prevent or remove deadlocks as well as the abuse of power by any one authority. A president (or state governor) who has vetoed bills passed by Congress (or his state legislature) is emboldened to go on doing so when he finds public opinion on his side; and Congress (or the state legislature) will hesitate, though the requisite majority may be forthcoming, to pass these bills over the veto. A majority in the House of Representatives, or in a state legislative body, which has abused the power of closing debate by the 'previous question' rule, may be frightened by expressions of popular disapproval from repeating the offense. When the two branches of a legislature differ, and a valuable bill has failed, or when there

has been vexatious filibustering, public opinion fixes the blame on the party responsible for the loss of good measures or public time, and may punish it at the next election. Mischief is checked in America more frequently than anywhere else by the fear of exposure, or by newspaper criticisms on the first stage of a bad scheme. And, of course, the frequency of elections has the merit of bringing the prospect of punishment nearer."

In the above paragraphs the action of public opinion is shown, but Mr. Bryce does not leave a subject until he has treated it from all points of view. And so we are able to quote some of the failures and successes of public opinion as incident to its action.

"Public opinion," says Mr. Bryce, "is slow and clumsy in grappling with large practical problems. It looks at them, talks incessantly about them, complains of Congress for not solving them, is distressed that they do not solve themselves. But they remain unsolved. Vital decisions have usually hung fire longer than they would have been likely to do in European countries. The War of 1812 seemed on the point of breaking out over and over again before it came at last. The absorption of Texas was a question of many years. The extension of the slavery question came before the nation in 1819; after 1840 it was the chief source of trouble; year by year it grew more menacing; year by year the nation was seen to be drifting toward the breakers. Everybody felt that something must be done. But it was the function of

no one authority in particular to discover a remedy, as it would have been the function of a cabinet in Europe. I do not say the sword might not in any case have been invoked, for the temperature of Southern feeling had been steadily rising to war point. But the history of 1840-60 leaves an impression of the dangers which may result from fettering the constitutional organs of government, and trusting to public sentiment to bring things right."

Mr. Bryce further asks "how far American opinion succeeds in the simpler duty, which opinion must discharge in all countries, of supervising the conduct of business, and judging the current legislative work which Congress and other legislatures turn out.

"Here again the question turns not so much on the excellence of public opinion as on the adequacy of the constitutional machinery provided for its action. That supervision and criticism may be effective, it must be easy to fix on particular persons the praise for work well done, the blame for work neglected or ill-performed. Experience shows that good men are the better for a sense of their responsibility and ordinary men useless without it. The American plan of dividing powers makes it hard to fix responsibility. The executive can usually allege that it had not received from the legislature the authority necessary to enable it to grapple with a difficulty; while in the legislature there is no one person or group of persons on whom the blame due for that refusal or omission can be laid. A victim is wanted, who, for

the sake of the example to others, ought to be found and punished, either by law or by general censure. But perhaps he can not be found, because out of several persons or bodies who have been concerned, it is hard to apportion guilt and award the penalty. The strong point of the American system, the dominant fact of the situation, is the healthiness of public opinion, and the control which it exerts. As Abraham Lincoln said in his famous contest with Douglas, 'With public sentiment on its side, everything succeeds; with public sentiment against it, nothing succeeds.'

"The conscience and common sense of the nation as a whole keep down the evils which have crept into the working of the Constitution, and may in time extinguish them. Public opinion is a sort of atmosphere, fresh, keen, and full of sunlight, like that of the American cities, and this sunlight kills many of those noxious germs which are hatched where politicians congregate. That which, varying a once-famous phrase, we may call the genius of universal publicity, has some disagreeable results, but the wholesome ones are greater and more numerous. Selfishness, injustice, cruelty, tricks, and jobs of all sorts shun the light; to expose them is to defeat them. No serious evils, no rankling sore in the body politic can remain long concealed, and when disclosed, it is half destroyed. So long as the opinion of a nation is sound, the main lines of its policy can not go far wrong, whatever waste of time and money may be incurred in carrying them out." [f]

CHAPTER VII

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

THE favorite saying, "Necessity is the mother of invention," receives a curious historical illustration in the history of the United States Supreme Court. It was invented to meet a necessity; and its most important power was not conferred upon it, but was assumed by it because of necessity.

During the American Revolution, vessels were captured and brought into port, and there was no tribunal to pass upon the legal questions arising out of such captures. At first these questions were referred to Washington as General-in-Chief of the military forces of the Colonies. But it was impossible for him to turn aside from his military operations to arbitrate legal controversies. He called on Congress to create a tribunal for that purpose. Congress, fearing to assume authority to which the Colonies might take exception, at first simply recommended the separate Colonies to create courts for this purpose, with an appeal from such courts to Congress. Each such appeal Congress at first referred to a special committee; subsequently it created a permanent standing committee to hear such appeals, and, gaining courage from experience, finally, in 1780, created a Federal Court with power to act not only as an admiralty court, but also, on appeal, in all cases arising between the States.

A Federal Court was consequently established and a special commission was also created which settled a long-standing territorial controversy between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. In 1789, when the Articles of Confederation were replaced by the Constitution, a clause provided for the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States.

There is evidence that some members of the First Congress fully realized the vast importance and possibilities of the institution they had established, but it is probable that the majority little dreamed of the tremendous influence it was destined to exert upon the history of the nation. The earliest appointees to the bench had no reason to suspect the future glory of their court as they traveled the wide circuits throughout the thirteen states over bad roads in all sorts of weather, living, as one of them expressed it, "the life of postboys," seeking business but literally finding none.

Even as late as 1801 there were only ten cases on the docket of the court, and during the next five years its calendars averaged less than twenty-five cases a year. It was not until 1845-50 that the annual record rose to seventy cases. From that time forward the business grew by leaps and bounds, until in 1890 there were twenty-five hundred actions demanding attention, and no hearing could be had for three or four years after a case had been placed upon the calendar. Even to-day, when there are intermediary courts to relieve the pressure on the main

body and every effort has been made to restrict its business, there is more business each year than can possibly be disposed of.

The extent of power held by the Supreme Court was first made manifest in a case of very little importance, known as the case of Marbury against Madison. In this case Chief Justice Marshall initiated the doctrine that the Supreme Court might and would invalidate any law which in its judgment violated the provisions of the United States Constitution.

This announcement may well have astonished and dismayed Jefferson and the Congress, for, carried to its legitimate conclusion, it virtually stripped them of authority. The Presidential veto, which could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature, had never been resorted to by either Adams or Jefferson, and only twice by Washington. But compared with the powers claimed by Marshall this limited right of veto was an insignificant prerogative. If by its mere fiat the federal court could annul legislation adopted by the representatives of the people, they no longer held the reins of government. This, in the opinion of Jefferson and his followers, was the end of free institutions. Better commit all legislation to the judiciary in the first place, they argued, than go through the empty form of enacting measures which the bench could set aside.

Despite Jefferson's incredulity, however, and in the face of his unceasing opposition, Marshall's novel theory of government steadily gained support, and

during his long term of four and thirty years the Chief Justice did much to demonstrate that his theory was not only good law but sound public policy. Indeed, it is largely through Marshall's personal influence and efforts that the court has become a recognized and almost a determining factor in our political system—supreme in fact as well as in name—the one virtually unchangeable authority in the land.

But although the court has demonstrated its utility and, on the whole, justified the confidence reposed in it by successive generations, the very fact that it possesses such immense powers is in itself disturbing, and at every national crisis grave doubts arise concerning this unprecedented institution. There is much in its long and honorable history to mitigate this periodical anxiety, but perhaps the most reassuring circumstance is the non-partisan character of the bench. Although appointed by the Executive from the ranks of his own political party, the judges have, with very few exceptions, held aloof from political activity, and their decisions have generally been free of party bias. Moreover, every section of the country has been represented at one time or another upon the bench, and no group of states or political organization has ever monopolized it. Of course, in one aspect, the court has never been and never can be free of politics, for questions involving party policies are constantly coming before it. From this point of view the long struggle between Marshall and Jefferson was political, but the welding of the states into the nation and the

quickening of the Constitution which were the immediate results of that contest can not rightly be regarded as the work of any political party.

During the past forty years the majority of the court has been composed of men politically affiliated with the dominant party in the House and Senate, and every law which they have declared unconstitutional has been the work of political friends. Nor is this a condition of affairs peculiar to the Republican party. In 1894, the income tax, supported by the Democratic party and administration, was annulled, not by political opponents, but by the votes of Democratic judges, and many other instances of a similar nature could be cited to prove how little subservient the bench has been to the dictates of the party in power. Almost every move that has been made against the court by Congress has been directed, not to divorcing it from politics, but rather to controlling its decisions. To this end in 1801 the number of judges was increased from six to ten, and in 1866 it was reduced to seven, avowedly for the purpose of preventing Andrew Johnson from filling the vacancies which had occurred. Again in 1869 two members were added to the bench to insure the safety of the Legal Tender Act, and other changes which were advocated and debated at that time reveal the fact that its independence has been the court's greatest offense in the eyes of politicians.

But another and very much graver argument has been formulated against this ancient and honorable

tribunal by the judges themselves. During recent years dissenting opinions have been recorded with almost every decision of importance, and in many instances the vote has invited the inquiry whether a house so divided against itself can long endure.

In the income tax case, a previous decision of the court, made upon substantially the same facts many years before, warranted the conclusion that the law would be upheld, but after two elaborate hearings five judges declared the act unconstitutional and four pronounced it valid, the odd vote annulling the legislation. In other words, the opinion of one man overturned the deliberate judgment of the two houses of Congress which had been approved by the President and generally sanctioned by the people. If this had merely happened once or twice, it would occasion little comment, but it has occurred again and again until unanimous opinions are the exception rather than the rule. Numerous cases might be cited to confirm this. This is not extraordinary that judges should differ among themselves on close questions of law, but this fact affords another reason for doubting whether a vote of five to four should be permitted to invalidate legislation.

The danger of a law being annulled by a minority vote was recognized as long ago as 1868, and in that year a bill was passed by the House providing that six judges should be necessary for a quorum and a two-thirds majority required for any decision invalidating an act of Congress. The measure failed in

the Senate, however, and has never been revived. In 1869 an amendment to the Constitution was proposed by which the judges of the Supreme Court were declared ineligible for all other offices, their term limited to twenty years, and their retirement rendered compulsory at the age of seventy, with a pension for life. This suggestion did not meet with approval and never came to a vote. The growing tendency of the judges to disagree among themselves has, however, revived interest in some of the plans for reorganization discussed in the Reconstruction days. Of the present incumbents of the Supreme Bench two are already past seventy and one just attained that age, while the others are comparatively young men.

Ex-President William Howard Taft might have been an associate justice of the Supreme Court himself, but it fell to his lot to make four associate justices and practically reorganize the Bench, and the work covering his judicial appointments is said to be the best of his administration. His wisest and most important act in this connection was the appointing of Justice White to the Chief Justiceship. It is the first time in the history of the Bench that an associate justice has ever been raised to the position of Chief Justice, and there are even more notable features than that in the appointment, to show the wisdom and fearlessness of President Taft: Chief Justice White was a Confederate soldier, he is a Democrat and a Roman Catholic. In spite of these points that might have,

and did, cause criticism, President Taft recognized the capability and the unquestioned worthiness of his appointee. Other appointments made by President Taft were Justice Joseph Rucker Lamar, Justice Willis Van Devanter, Mahlon Pitney and Charles Evan Hughes.

Not all the justices of the Supreme Court have been jurists of the highest caliber, but Jay, Marshall, Storey, Taney, Curtis, Chase, Davis and many others have displayed judicial talents of rare quality, and the average legal ability of the entire bench has been comparatively high. The men who have been selected for service have usually been chosen when in the prime of life. Storey, who began his judicial career at thirty-two, was the youngest recipient of the honor, and Hunt, nominated in his sixty-second year, was the oldest. As it exists today, the following is the personnel of the Supreme Court of the United States: Chief Justice White; Associate Justices McKenna Day, Pitney, Holmes, Lamar, Hughes, Lurton, and Van Devanter. Of these Associate Justice Hughes is the youngest, having just passed his fiftieth year.

It must be apparent to every thoughtful and intelligent observer that the court is entering upon a new era in its history, and that before many years novel and perplexing questions involving the economic and social future of the country will demand the best thought of an exceptional bench. The nature of the problems to be presented will require something more than erudition for their satisfactory solution. Statesmanship of the highest order, and only men capable of directing the changing order and

thoroughly alive to its meaning will prove equal to the emergency. It is encouraging that already the members of the court are awake to the impending crisis. Only a short time ago one of the associate justices in an instructive essay admitted that the court would, within a short time, be tested as it never has been in its history, and in the course of his remarks he enumerated four classes of new business which would probably be increasingly impressed upon judicial notice. First in importance he mentioned the cases that would grow out of the relations of capital and labor; second, those springing from the manifest effort to increase and concentrate the powers of the nation and lessen those of the states; third, those arising from the acquisition of foreign territories, and fourth, those involved in the closer relations which the nation must inevitably bear to other countries by reason of those new possessions and expansion of trade.

The period during which Chief Justice Marshall held sway has been officially referred to as "the golden age of the Supreme Court," but in point of opportunity and utility all indications are that the golden age lies in the future rather than in the past history of this mighty tribunal. No institution, political or social, can long survive upon traditions, and coming events promise unequaled opportunities for qualified jurists to create new traditions for the court and achieve unique distinction for themselves in the history of the country.

The problems destined to confront the bench and the immense responsibilities involved in their solution will require high-minded and broad-minded statesmen, rather than profound lawyers. The time has passed when library browsers can enhance judicial credit with abstruse learning, nor can technical jurists any longer point the path of safety with split hairs. The Titanic movement which is already beginning to transform the industrial and social world and whose impulse is everywhere perceptible, demands the guidance of strong, even-tempered, courageous men of good red blood and sound common sense—men who know the country, understand its people, and believe in the destiny of the nation. And we have such men today on the Supreme Bench if the opinion voiced by the Editor of *The Independent* on President Taft's appointments be the true sentiment: "The Supreme Court is now an able one. It is strong in learning and character and strong in the esteem and affection of the people. No words can overestimate the importance of this fact. Decisions dealing with the great problems of today, problems about which all earnest men are seriously thinking, will be criticized—and such ought always to be true—but back of fair and honest criticism there is a deep-seated reverence for this great tribunal, learned and just and fearless, and patriotic, consecrated to the most serious task ever given men to perform." [g]

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

I

SINCE 1820, when the statistics of the subject began to be preserved, an aggregate of something over 26,000,000 has been added to our population through immigration. Were we to draw a wave line depicting the successive risings and fallings of the alien influx during these ninety-three years, one would be struck not only by its extremely jagged and irregular character, but also by the periodicity of the undulations it would record. We would observe that the years 1854, 1873, 1882, 1892 stand as culminating points, from which the line would dip in either direction into periods of depression. In other words, with the obvious omission of the Civil War decade, each ten years of the last half of the nineteenth century, roughly speaking, witnessed a rapid and formidable swell of the immigrant stream, followed by almost, if not quite, as pronounced a subsidence.

On this principle, we should have reached another maximum about 1902 or 1903, and should now be sinking back by long leaps toward the lower level. We reached the maximum promptly at the scheduled time; but, instead of passing over it and downward, we have continued to mount higher and higher ever since. With a slight interruption in 1904, for the tenth

time straight each year's immigration has considerably surpassed in numbers that of the preceding year. In 1903, a point was reached which was the highest yet attained in our history. In 1905, the million mark was passed and the prophets themselves stood amazed. In 1906, the number shot upward until it reached 1,100,735; and in 1907, 1,285,349. Recurring to our imaginary wave line, one will find the 1907 influx of aliens towering like a Himalaya in the midst of humble foothills. But in 1908 came another depression, the number falling to 782,870. In 1909 it dropped still lower, only 751,786 arriving. In 1910 there was another rise, the number reaching 1,041,570.

It is not easy to conceive what our immigration has really come to be. The figures are too stupendous to be grasped by the mind. Let one who has sat in the magnificent stadium at Cambridge, as one of 40,000 spectators at a Harvard-Yale football game, reflect that if the immigrants entering our ports during the fiscal year 1907 were brought together, they would make a throng twenty-five and a half times as large as that which crowds every available foot of space around the great oval. Let him consider that the number admitted in this twelvemonth from Norway and Sweden alone would more than fill the stadium; that the number from Germany would do the same; that the influx from Great Britain would fill it two and a half times; that from Russia would fill it more than five times; that from Austria-Hungary would fill it more than six times; and the contribu-

tions from Italy would do it seven times, with people to spare. Let him further call to mind that, on the average, the stadium could be packed with the aliens who are landed at Ellis Island, New York, every seventeen days throughout the entire year—indeed, with those who are landed in less than a week at certain busier portions of the year.

Then let him consider that the total number of immigrants admitted in 1907 would nearly serve to populate either the city of Philadelphia, or the cities of Boston and Baltimore combined; that, in fact, it would people all Maryland, or all Nebraska, or the whole region occupied by Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. These six states and territories have an aggregate area of 649,320 square miles, which is nearly 18 per cent of the total area of the United States. It is a rather startling fact to face that this very considerable proportion of the country's area has an aggregate population no larger than the ordinary course of immigration has brought to us in a single twelvemonth.

One may or may not take alarm at the mere matter of numbers. The adding of a round million of foreign-born to our population every year is not necessarily ruinous to the essential interests of the nation —even to the ultimate survival of the American as a type of cultivated human being. The country and its resources are enormous. Its population is relatively small. There is still an abundance of room—for the right sort of people. The discouraging fact

which can not be evaded, however, is that along with the increase in volume of immigration has gone a hardly less pronounced falling off in quality. There is no need to argue the question whether one race of people is inherently better or more capable than another. Probably in the long run the conclusion would be that, the habit of a thousand generations of one's ancestors being hard to overcome, we still allow mere differences of race to shape our judgments far more than is really justifiable. But, as practical affairs go, everybody understands that some peoples are more industrious than others; that some are more ambitious than others; that some assimilate with their neighbors and perpetuate the better qualities of both, while others herd together and accentuate their own deficiencies. In other words, men springing from certain stocks are eminently more desirable as immigrants than are their cousins in whose veins flows a different blood.

It is a commonplace that since about 1885 there has been a profound change in the predominant elements of our immigrant population. The cardinal fact is the shifting of the preponderance from the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the north and west of Europe to the Iberian and Slavic stocks of the south and east. The hope which those best acquainted with the situation have cherished for years that the scale will turn in favor of the Teutonic, and therefore of the more acceptable, type of immigrant, has thus far completely failed of realization. Without exception,

England, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland, which until a generation ago supplied by far the larger part of our foreign population, contributed fewer immigrants in 1906 than in 1905, while the four whose gains were largest were Italy, Russia, Greece, and Turkey. Austria-Hungary alone of southern and eastern European countries exhibited a decrease, and there is no reason for regarding this apparent cause for rejoicing as other than an isolated and more or less accidental phenomenon quite devoid of significance. Of every 100 aliens landed at our ports in 1906, 37 were Slavic, 28 were Iberic, 19 were Teutonic, and 11 were Celtic; that is, 65 came from southern and eastern Europe and Asia Minor, but only 30 from the countries to the north and west. Obviously we, as a predominantly Teutonic people, are undertaking a problem of assimilation which dwarfs all such problems with which our fathers and grandfathers were called upon to deal.

It would be a hitherto unparalleled problem even if our Slavic and Italian and Hebrew newcomers represented the solid citizenship of the countries from which they spring, as did the English and German immigrants of forty years ago. But, by common agreement, they do not. Our immigrants to-day are not only of widely different racial antecedents, but they are distinctly inferior to those of earlier times in the fundamental qualities of character and economic status. In the last analysis, the basis of judgment in the matter must be the equipment, material and oth-

113201

erwise, which the mass of aliens bring for taking up life under American conditions and growing with fair facility into self-reliant and productive citizens. To be quite desirable, the immigrant must have sufficient money to enable him to live independently until he finds employment and has an income upon which to rely for support; he must be sturdy and healthy in body, capable of doing as much hard work as his station is apt to involve; he must be of fair intelligence—not necessarily "educated," perhaps not even able to read or write, but at least possessing a mind susceptible of some discrimination and sanity of judgment.

Some of these qualities are difficult to measure and it would be foolish to attempt to affirm just what proportion of our immigrants to-day possess any or all of them, and in what degree. Financial equipment is a tangible thing, however, and as that is a matter carefully inquired into by the inspectors at our ports, we have some information regarding it which is worth while. The total amount of money shown by the aliens admitted to the country in 1906 was $25,109,413, which looks like a big sum until one figures out the average when distributed among more than a million people. As a matter of fact, the record was not so good as in the preceding year, when 75,000 fewer immigrants brought nearly $50,000 more money. Moreover, the resources of this sort were very unevenly distributed. The 45,079 English brought an aggregate of $2,610,439, while three and

one-half times as many Jews brought only $2,362,125. The 144,954 Germans and Scandinavians brought $5,091,594, while 263,655 southern Italians and Greeks brought but $4,183,398. The average Jew or Italian or Greek who lands at the Battery with his fifteen dollars has obviously not a very long lease of existence unless he finds ready employment, or is supported by friends, or falls back upon public charity.

Another fairly tangible standard of measurement is the educational test. What the immigrant's actual capacity of intellect may be there are ordinarily small means of knowing. But a record is kept of the amount of illiteracy and this furnishes an index of considerable value. The results thus attained confirm at every point the impression that the mass of our immigrants to-day will not measure up with those of twenty-five, ten, or even five, years ago. Of the 964,462 aliens over 14 years of age who were admitted in 1906, 265,068 could neither read nor write and 4,755 could read but not write. The figures for 1905 were 230,882 and 8,209 respectively. That is, while the total illiteracy in 1906 was about 28 per cent, that in 1905 was not more than 26 per cent, which in turn was an increase of one per cent over that of 1904.

One aspect of the situation which is capable of various interpretations is the fact that the percentage of arriving aliens who are debarred from landing has noticeably increased. In 1902 the number was 4,974, or .76 per cent; in 1903, 8,769, or 1.02 per cent; in 1904, 7,952, or .94 per cent; in 1905, 11,480, or 1.07

per cent; and in 1906, 12,432, or 1.06 per cent. Obviously, in these times of heavy immigration the number ought to increase absolutely to signify simply the maintenance of the traditional degree of vigilance at our ports. Probably most of us would feel that it ought also to increase relatively with more reliableness than the foregoing percentages indicate that it does. As a matter of fact, during the past four years the proportion of the debarred has been rather conspicuously declining. It is to be hoped that this is due, as Mr. Watchorn, late Commissioner at the Port of New York, has asserted, to the precautionary measures that have been put in operation on the other side of the Atlantic by the various immigrant-carrying steamship lines, which have grown tired of providing free return transportation for aliens refused admission by the inspectors at our ports. The prevention of undesirables from embarking for America in the first place is, of course, the ideal solution. Thus far such a policy, however, has been found extremely difficult to realize and it is yet too early to forecast the results of the present restrictive measures of the steamship companies. They have been seized with such fits of thrifty virtue before. That an appalling number of aliens who are on the verge of dependency, defectiveness, and delinquency still somehow contrive to get into the country is a fact which can hardly be obscured. As long as this is true, one can not restrain the feeling that if the laws we have are not adequate to secure a larger proportion of debar-

ment, we ought to have others of a more stringent character.

Perhaps no other state suffers so much from the evils arising from immigration as New York. For this reason the State Legislature created a Commission, appointed by Governor Hughes in 1908, to make full inquiry into the condition, welfare, and industrial opportunities of aliens within the State. This Commission made its report to the Governor in September, 1909. Its principal recommendation provides machinery for carrying into effect most of its numerous findings. It is for the creation of a new department of the State Government, to be known as the Department of Industries and Immigration. This has to do with the control of the present means of distributing immigrant labor through the licensed employment agencies, padrones, and charitable philanthropic societies, with the inspection of labor camps, with supervision over the many "homes" which have sprung up to meet the varying needs of the alien races, and with other ways of protecting the immigrants from serious impositions and exploitations now practiced upon them. It would, for instance, safeguard them as far as possible from the fraudulent sale to them of worthless steam-ship tickets; it would provide educational machinery with the view of making a larger number of the immigrants a source of strength to the State instead of a burden. One of the most important of the many subjects investigated by the Commission is that of the immigrant bank, so called, and its rela-

tion to the depositors, who are usually of the banker's own nationality. There are about one thousand of these small immigrant banks in the State, and large sums of money are sent annually to these New York banks by immigrants in other states. These banks accept deposits as well as transmit money abroad. In one year only—from September 1, 1907, to September 1, 1908—there were twenty-five failures of these small banks, resulting in a loss to their 12,279 depositors of $1,459,000. Practically this entire sum was lost by workers least able to bear it. It is significant that the depositors in incorporated banks and trust companies which failed during this period of financial depression were safeguarded against the loss of a single penny. The Department of Industries and Immigration also covers such important subjects as the protection of immigrants from impositions and exploitations of various kinds at the docks. This is, we believe, the first time in the history of immigration to this country that an official State Commission has approached the subject from the point of view of protection to the immigrant as part of a larger question of protection to the State.

II

Into the lower levels of the American community there pours perpetually a vast torrent of strangers, speaking alien tongues, inspired by alien traditions, and for the most part illiterate peasants and working people. They come in at the bottom; that must be insisted upon. An enormous and ever-increasing pro-

portion of the laboring classes, of all the lower class in America, is of recent European origin, either of foreign birth or foreign parentage. The older American population is being floated up on top of this influx, a sterile aristocracy above a racially different and astonishingly fecund proletariat. (For it grows rankly in this new soil. One section of immigrants, the Hungarians, have here a birth rate of forty-six in the thousand, the highest of any civilized people in the world.)

Few people grasp the true dimensions of this invasion. Figures carry so little. The influx has clambered from half a million to 700,000, to 800,000; this year the swelling figures roll up as if they mean to go far above the million mark. The flood swells to overtake the total birth rate; it has already overtopped the total of births of children to native American parents.

The immigrant does not clamor for attention. He drops into American clothes, and then he does not catch the careless eye. He goes into special regions and works there. Where Americans talk or think or have leisure to observe, he does not intrude. The bulk of the Americans don't get as yet any real sense of his portentous multitude at all. On the liner coming over, at Ellis Island, and sometimes on the railroad one sees him—him and his womankind—in some picturesque east-European garb, very respectful, very polite, adventurous, and a little scared. Then he becomes less visible. He gets into cheap American

clothes, resorts to what naturalists call "protective mimicry," even perhaps acquires a collar. Also his bearing is changed, becomes charged with certain aggression. He has a pocket-handkerchief, and has learned to move fast and to work fast, and to chew and spit with the proper meditative expression. One detects him by his diminishing accent, and by a few persistent traits—rings in his ears, perhaps, or the like adornment. In the next stage these also are gone; he has become ashamed of the music of his native tongue, and talks even to his wife on the trolley-car and other public places, at least, in brief remarkable American.

I doubt very much if America is going to assimilate all that she is taking in now; much more do I doubt that she will assimilate the still greater inflow of the coming years. I believe she is going to find infinite difficulties in that task. By "assimilate" I mean make intelligent coöperative citizens of these people. She will, I have no doubt whatever, impose upon them a bare use of the English language, and give them votes and certain patriotic persuasions, but I believe that if things go on as they are going, the great mass of them will remain a very low lower class —will remain largely illiterate, industrialized peasants. They are decent-minded peasant people, orderly, industrious people, rather dirty in their habits, and with a low standard of life. Wherever they accumulate in numbers, they present to my eye a social phase far below the level of either England, France,

north Italy, or Switzerland. And, frankly, I do not find that our nation has either in its schools—which are as backward in some states as they are forward in others—in its press, in its religious bodies or in its general tone, any organized means or effectual influences for raising these huge masses of humanity to the requirements of an ideal modern civilization.

I got some very interesting figures from Dr. Hart, of the Children's Home and Aid Society of Chicago, in this matter. He was pleading for the immigrant against my skepticisms. He pointed out to me that the generally received opinion that the European immigrants are exceptionally criminal is quite wrong. But Dr. Hart's figures also showed very clearly something further: as between the offspring of native and foreign parents the preponderance of crime is enormously on the side of the latter.

The immigrant arrives an artless, rather uncivilized, pious, good-hearted peasant, with a disposition toward submissive industry and rude effectual moral habits. America, it is alleged, makes a man of him. It seems to me that all too often she makes an infuriated toiler of him, tempts him with dollars and speeds him up with competition, hardens him, coarsens his manners, and, worst crime of all, lures and forces him to sell his children into toil. The home of the immigrant in America looks to me worse than the home he came from in Italy. It is just as dirty, it is far less simple and beautiful, the food is no more wholesome, the moral atmosphere far less wholesome;

and, as a consequence, the child of the immigrant is a worse man than his father.

I am fully aware of the generosity, the nobility of sentiment which underlies the American objection to any hindrance to immigration. But either that general sentiment should be carried out to a logical completeness and a gigantic and costly machinery organized to educate and civilize these people as they come in, or it should be chastened to restrict the inflow to numbers assimilable under existing conditions. I have a foreboding that in this mixed flood of workers that pours into America by the million to-day, in this torrent of ignorance against which that heroic being, the schoolmarm, battles at present all unaided by men, there is to be found the possibility of another dreadful separation of class and kind, a separation perhaps not so profound but far more universal. One sees the possibility of a rich industrial and mercantile aristocracy of western European origin, dominating a darker-haired, darker-eyed, uneducated proletariat from central and eastern Europe. The immigrants are being given votes, I know, but that does not free them, it only enslaves the country. The negroes were given votes.

That is the quality of the danger as I see it. But before this indigestion of immigrants becomes an incurable sickness of the states, many things may happen. There is every sign, as I have said, that a great awakening, a great disillusionment, is going on in the American mind. This swamping of the country may

yet be checked. We may yet emancipate the children below fifteen from labor, and so destroy one of the chief inducements of immigration.

Indeed, the reforms that are being brought about are tending to decrease immigration. We have seen that in 1910 the wave line rose again to more than a million, but in 1911 there was a substantial decrease again, the number admitted falling to 878,587, while in 1912 it was still smaller, amounting to but 838,172. And it is a notable fact that of these 200,099 were English, Irish or Scotch, French, German Scandinavian, or Dutch and Flemish. One of the branches of the Department of Industry and Immigration is the North American Civic League for Immigrants. The report last year of the New York-New Jersey committee of this league informs us that for the protection of the immigrant on landing, an immigrant guide and transfer has been established at Ellis Island; that police protection has been increased threefold, and other means adopted for preventing the exploitation of the immigrant. Transportation of immigrants on lines going out of New York has been investigated and some abuses remedied. An attempt has been made to do away with fraudulent practices of notaries public, and the trial and removal from office of a large number of them has had a most salutary effect. A like attempt to prevent the charging of fraudulent fees by lawyers in deportation cases is also yielding results.[h]

CHAPTER IX

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—FORESTRY PRESERVING

IN an everyday-looking office building in F Street in Washington the visitor will find a beehive of busy men, and hear the click of many typewriters, and see room after room honeycombed with files, while basketsful of letters come and go. That is Uncle Sam's Forest Service. No; it is only the office of the service, the brains of it, the clerical part of it, the dynamo room of it, the point from which the affairs of the millions of acres of the government's vast wooded tracts are administered. It is the practical side of the most practical and at the same time the most picturesque phase of this government's internal work. Until in 1905, the forestry work was in charge of the General Land Office of the Interior Department; now it is in charge of a special department, known as the Forestry Service.

The forest reservations under direct control of the Forest Service and over which it has absolute control embrace more than one hundred million acres, an area greater than the combined area of the states of Indiana, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, and South Carolina! Think of that a minute. Besides, the estimated acreage of wooded tracts over which the government has assumed tem-

porary control, more than twelve million acres, would add an area greater than that of the states of Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island! Then there would be left an estimated forest area, which the government hopes to look after, of approximately four hundred million acres, which, if put all together, would convert into one big woods every foot of the territory east of the Mississippi River and south of the Great Lakes, including every coast state south of New York. Just look that up on your map.

What is the government doing in all this vast area? Growing fancy trees and teaching cities how to beautify their parks? That is what a great many otherwise well-informed persons believe. But they could not be in greater error if they thought the Treasury Department existed only for the benefit of coin collectors, or that the principal purpose of the Navy Department was to teach men to swim. Yet there is no secret about the Forest Service; in fact, the widest publicity is courted. The government wants your help and the help of your neighbor. But while it must be sentiment that will save the forests, there is nothing sentimental, nor esthetic, nor artistic about it. Back of forestry work are practical ideas, practical results. Of course, the service encourages the planting of trees for the purpose of beautification. But that is not the main issue. It is to preserve the forest for the farmer in order that he may get the greatest good of it, not only in beauty, but in hard dollars. It is to stop the men who are cutting trees

indiscriminately; it is to curb the woodman who is swinging his axe at a rate that threatens to leave a waste of timberless land to the public when it shall have finally awakened to the necessity of forest preservation.

How does the government propose to stop this wasteful cutting of timber? For it distinctly does propose to stop it. This is what it says:

First. By the example of great government forest tracts, properly administered.

Second. By the cooperation of corporations and individual owners of forest tracts.

Third. By the education of the people in general to a realization of not only the value, but of the *necessity* of forest preservation.

The general government has recognized the value of the work, and yearly Congress has given Mr. Pinchot, late head of the Forest Service, an increased appropriation for the use of his bureau. And Mr. Pinchot was not a lobbyist for fat appropriations. These appropriations he quickly turned into more workmen and bigger surveying parties and into a larger field of work. For the Forest Service lacks not opportunity. At this moment the service has hundreds of applications for instruction which it has not been able to act upon.

The young fellow who is "looking for a soft snap" need not apply, for the work of a student assistant is by no means easy. Nor will the government afford a pleasant vacation in the open air for young men in

broken health. It is not a picnic in the cool woods that the student assistant will have. He will be in the cool woods in summer and the cold woods in winter. He will live in a tent and keep lumbermen's hours. He will work with a "gang," get up at break of day, tramp the forest, swing an axe, measure with calipers, count "rings" on stumps and set down figures in a book when his fingers may be so cold that the figures he makes look like chicken tracks. He will do this day in and day out; at night, perhaps too far away to return to his tent, he will build a fire, eat bacon and hardtack, wrap himself in the blanket which he has carried all day, and dream of the folks at home.

However, the forest student will have good, wholesome "grub"—nothing fancy; he will obey his boss, a trained forester, and he will continue to do this, rain or shine, until March or April, when, if he has done his work well, he will be taken to Washington—the government pays his way there—where, in the Forest Service offices, he will help "figure out" what his party accomplished in the field. And when he arrives in Washington, the chances are he will be stronger of limb, more solid of muscle and clearer of eye and brain than those young men who have toiled over desks and papers all the year.

The men at the head of the Forest Service are practical men; they deal in hard figures, in exact measurements, in accurate estimates. There is where the cold, practical side of this forestry business comes

in. If you have a timber tract and don't know when a tree is worth most to you, the foresters at Washington—if you ask them, and if they haven't too many other applications—will send you men who "size up" a tree like a stock man sizes up an animal on the hoof. After a little measuring and figuring, about which you will not understand a thing, and which very probably you will think rather foolish, they will tell you just which trees to cut and which carefully to preserve, and when to cut those you have left standing. They will tell you how much timber for this, that or another purpose you will find in a certain tree and when to cut that tree for a particular purpose. By counting the rings on a stump they will tell you the age of the tree just as quickly and even more accurately than you, if you are a horseman, can tell the age of a horse by looking into its mouth.

In Germany they are further along. They have had more years in which to study forestry. They have been reminded more forcibly—as we soon shall be—of the necessity for studying forest conditions and then proceeding on scientific lines with the preservation and cultivation of trees. There is school after school of forestry in Germany; there are hundreds of professional foresters, and practically every foot of German forest land is subject to forest regulations. It was from Germany that we got our first idea of forestry, and we are constantly returning to that country for ideas, suggestions, and encouragement.

"In Germany when a tree is cut down, another tree is planted." That saying is almost literally true. Perhaps, in fact, when a tree is cut, *two* trees are planted, or, to be more accurate, the two trees are planted and are known to be healthily growing before the axe is brought into requisition on the first tree.

But don't get the idea that the government forbids the cutting of trees, for it does not. It advises cutting. The axe, the saw and the skids have places just as important in the forester's kit as the calipers, the steel tape and the table of figures. The main thing is to cut with sense. The practical forester will point out to you the self-evident truth that the best time to cut a tree is when that tree is of the greatest value to its owner.

The government says cut your trees, but cut them systematically—not here and there as cattle graze when first turned into a fresh blue-grass pasture, but all through, scientifically. Sense, science, and system are the three watchwords for a well administered and paying forest tract.

In the last ten years forest owners have wantonly wasted millions of dollars in timber destroyed. The forest experts at Washington frankly say they do not expect a great many private owners of smaller forests to care for their property as it actually should be cared for. But they *do* expect corporations and states to look after their forest tracts more carefully than they have been doing. States can derive three per cent on every forest reserve they establish,

says Mr. Alfred Gaskill, of the Forest Service at Washington, and this even in planting forests. Indiana has a new reserve of two thousand acres which is expected to pay. Pennsylvania is systematically planting trees under state control. California alone has a working forest area of twenty million five hundred thousand acres; Maryland is beginning the study of forestry; Massachusetts has a state forestry association dealing with specific problems in that State; New Hampshire is doing forestry field work. Extensive examinations have been made by the Forest Service in Alaska, and in 1903 the legislature of Hawaii passed a bill providing for an insular Forest Service and creating a Board of Agriculture and Forestry. Last year there was field work on eight forest tracts, with a total area of one million sixty-eight thousand acres, in Minnesota, New Hampshire, West Virginia, Alabama and Texas. It is in these primeval tracts that the government stations its patrols—men who, year in and year out, roam the forest solitudes. They are the policemen of the reserves. Their work is heroic and invaluable.

To protect these reserves from the many dangers which continually threaten them, the government maintains at immense expense a thorough system of forest reserve administration. This forest force consists of forest supervisors, deputy supervisors, rangers, deputy rangers, assistant rangers, and guards. These men constitute a permanent field force, and they find plenty of work to do. There are books to

be kept, reports to be made, licenses to be issued, permits to be granted, disputes as to territory and the occupancy thereof to be settled, and, above all, the forest is to be protected from fire.

There is nothing more awfully beautiful than a forest fire. But the government does not seem to see the beauty of it, for its most rigid regulations are directed toward fire prevention. I quote from the book of regulations: "Officers of the Forest Service, especially forest rangers, have no duty more important than protecting the reserves from forest fires. During dry and dangerous periods all other work should be subordinate. Most careful attention should be given to the prevention of fires." The Forest Service says, officially, "probably the greatest single benefit derived by the community and the nation from forest reserves is insurance against the destruction of property, timber resources and water supply by fire. The direct annual loss from this source on unprotected lands reaches many millions of dollars." The burden of protection can not, of course, be borne by the state or by its citizens, much as they have to gain. So through its watchful fire patrol the government guards the property of the resident settler and the miner, and preserves the timber and the water supply on which the prosperity of all industries depends.

The government authorities say forest fires do not often result from wilful incendiarism, but from sheer carelessness. To guard against the carelessness

of hunters, camping parties and travelers is the forest ranger's duty. The rangers keep in close touch, and on short notice are ready to help one another in fighting the common enemy. So very important is the prevention of forest fires that the government has issued rules and regulations, which you will see posted conspicuously all through the dense wooded tracts, wherever the foot of man is likely to tread.

There is a maximum fine of five thousand dollars or two years' imprisonment, or both, for any person convicted of responsibility for the wilful setting of a fire on a public domain, or for suffering a fire to burn unattended near any inflammable material. Severe? Yes, but not too severe when you consider the millions on millions of property at stake—property which could not again be accumulated in a generation. A fine of one thousand dollars, or one year's imprisonment, or both, is prescribed for building a fire and leaving it before it is extinguished. So if you ever have the good fortune to get into a government forest reserve be careful with your fires. Fire fighting has become a science in itself, and the Forest Service points with pride to the fact that there have been no really disastrous forest fires within the last few years.

In damp, heavy timber, fire usually travels slowly, and a few men can keep it in check. In dry, open woods, fire naturally travels much faster, and the regulations advise the fighters to go some distance ahead and then "back fire" from there. Fire fight-

ers say that night and the early morning hours are the best time to work at extinguishing burning forests, as the fires die down more or less during the cool night and flare up again during the heat of the day. Contrary to the usual rule, a forest fire travels more rapidly up hill than down. Fire rushes up a hill, crosses a crest slowly and is more or less checked in traveling down the other side. Therefore the fire fighters use the crest of a ridge and the bottom of a hill as points of attack.

There is a note of alarm in nearly every one of the forestry announcements. Satisfaction is expressed at the progress of the work, but concern is shown over the activity of the woodsman and his axe. In speaking of the growth of forestry and the responses to the call the Forest Service has sent out, Mr. Pinchot says: "All this is encouraging, but the situation has another side. The available means to check forest destruction are increasing, but so are the forces which make for the obliteration of our forest wealth. Railroads are steadily pushing into new regions, bringing with them not only destructive lumbering, but also fire, which is far more dangerous."

"It is evident," the forester says, "that never before has forest destruction been so rapid as at present, that we have never been so near to the exhaustion of our lumber supply, and that vigorous measures have never been so urgently required as now. Judged in the light of its beginnings and opportunities, the progress of the Forest Service is perhaps

not unsatisfactory. Judged in the light of the task which must be accomplished, if we are to escape the hardships of a prolonged lumber famine, its work has scarcely begun."

The most hopeful sign the Forest Service sees is the healthful interest the big corporations are taking in forest work. The railroads and big lumber companies are giving Forest Service every possible assistance, for they see great financial savings if the service succeeds, and great financial losses if it fails in its work.

It is mutually helpful, too. For the government is making experiments with "loblolly pine" and other varieties to solve the question of railroad tie-making material. The government authorities declare the steel railroad tie is not and never will be practicable. It is investigating the Missouri swamp forests; it is studying the big trees of California; it is giving attention to the tan-bark trees of the Pacific Coast; it is looking into the Ohio hardwood forests; it is trying turpentine orcharding in the South; it is planting basket willows in the Potomac flats, in the District of Columbia; it is going into the study of sugar-maple groves—every one of which features are commercially important. It is testing the pines of New Mexico, the lodge-pole pine and the red fir of the Northwest; it is studying methods of preservative experiments as to the strength of structural timber.

The whole idea of the Forest Service seems to be best summed up in what President Roosevelt once

said to the Forestry Congress in Washington: "The forest is for use, and its users will decide its future. It was only a few years ago that the practical lumberman felt that the forest expert was a man who wished to see the forests preserved as bric-à-brac, and the American business man was not prepared to do much from the bric-à-brac standpoint. Now I think we have got a working agreement between the forester and the business man whose business is the use of the forest. We have got them to come together with the understanding that they must work for a common end, work to see the forest preserved for use."

CHAPTER X

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—THE NEW AGRICULTURE

JUST three years after the passing of the National Reclamation Act, on June 17, 1905, was celebrated the turning on of water into the Truckee-Carson irrigation canals. The event was appropriately honored. A special train bearing members of the Joint Committees of the House and Senate on Irrigation, including five of the seventeen who had drafted the Reclamation Act, Governor Pardee, of California, Governor Sparks, of Nevada, F. H. Newell, Chief of the Reclamation Service, and three or four hundred legislators and citizens, many of them of national reputation, pulled up early in the forenoon near the head-gates of the canal diverting water from the Truckee River. Shortly afterward, Mrs. Francis G. Newlands, wife of Senator Newlands, who is called "Father of the Reclamation Act," broke a bottle of champagne over the huge concrete works above the head-gates. The "irrigationists" turned the mechanical cranks, the steel head-gates lifted, and the cool waters from the high Sierras rushed through the canal to the thirsty desert of the Carson Valley, thirty miles away.

As the water flowed into the new irrigation canal and the whistle of the distant locomotive echoed in the hills, a noted enthusiast, perhaps our greatest

publicist in the cause of irrigation, a man who has written volumes on the subject and who never neglects to talk irrigation on every public opportunity, was seen wiping the tears from his eyes. "I couldn't help thinking of some of the old-timers who did not live to see this through," he explained.

Irrigation is no new idea. It was practiced in Egypt six thousand years ago. At that time there was a gathering on the banks of the Nile for the purpose of dedicating the first diversion and impounding dam in history. In all the changes of empire, irrigated lands are the only lands in all the earth that have been continuously and successfully cultivated. Irrigation was tried in California three hundred years ago by the Franciscan padres, and was established by the Mormons in Utah and Nevada half a century ago with astonishing success.

But irrigation works built by the government is a new idea in America. And irrigation, scientific irrigation, as demonstrated by the experts of the Reclamation Service of the Department of Agriculture, and by other "irrigationists" (i. e., those who study the problems of irrigation, as distinguished from irrigators), was a subject apparently so little appreciated, despite the visible results, that it took ten years of talking at Washington before a majority of the national legislature became convinced that there was anything in the idea at all. Even then "Uncle Joe" Cannon stood in the way. Many others were opposed to the Reclamation Bill on account of

the great expense involved. Congressman F. W. Mondell, of Wyoming, Chairman of the House Committee on Irrigation, sought out President Roosevelt, who knows the West and knows irrigation. On the night before the bill was slated to come up he said: "Mr. President, the Irrigation Bill will not go through to-morrow unless something is done to-night." The President immediately dictated a letter to the Speaker of the House and sent it to Mr. Cannon at his hotel. "It would be a crime," wrote the President, "to kill this bill." The bill passed.

Fifty million acres of arid land, it is estimated, at present totally unfit for agriculture, will be opened to the settler through the huge irrigation projects which the government will construct under the National Reclamation Act; still more land incapable of intensive cultivation will be rendered highly productive through irrigation. In all, the land to be reclaimed represents about two-fifths of the United States.

The Reclamation Act provides that funds from the sale of certain public lands shall be applied to the building of irrigation works by the government. The act does not contemplate government ownership in the sense that the term is used in the case of public utilities. While the government supervises the reclamation scheme, it does not intend to remain permanently in the business. Public land is sold to settlers, and, after the irrigation works have been constructed, the sum expended in the project is to be

returned in ten equal annual instalments by the settlers. Thus the fund is revolving. At the end of the first year after which the project is completed, one-tenth of the amount expended on the works is to be returned and put into other projects until all which the government has under consideration are completed, when the money will finally be returned to the government, and the entire reclaimed areas will be served by an abundance of water in perpetuity, and absolutely in the hands of the settlers.

The actual undertakings in reclaiming the arid West under federal supervision include expenditures in California of $3,000,000; in Arizona, $3,000,000; in Colorado, $2,500,000; in Wyoming, $250,000; in Nebraska-Wyoming, $1,000,000; in Nevada, $3,000,000; in Oregon, $2,000,000; in Washington, $1,500,000; in Montana, $1,500,000; in Idaho, $1,300,000; in North Dakota, $1,200,000; in Utah, $1,000,000.

By the Truckee-Carson project, the first to be completed under the Reclamation Act, water is taken from the Truckee River at a point ten miles above Wadsworth, Nevada, to the channel of the Carson River by a canal thirty-one miles long.

In the Truckee River there is plenty of water, but in the Truckee Valley there is little agricultural land. In the Carson Valley there is an abundance of agricultural land. In fact, almost everywhere in the arid West there is more good land than there is water. On the first of January, 1906, fifty thousand acres of land had been brought under irrigation in

the Carson Valley by means of about two hundred canals and ditches. Soon the cabins of the pioneers were seen in the valley, little one or two-room houses mostly, but enough to shelter the frontiersman and his family, for the object of the Reclamation Act is to provide homes for the homeseekers. The land is divided into farm units limited to one hundred acres, and the settler must be bona fide.

That this bleak Nevada Desert will be completely transformed through irrigation is fairly assured by the fact that wherever water has been brought to the land in the Carson Valley by the few owners of small farms scattered close along the bed of the Little Carson River, crops grow with great luxuriance. One can almost see alfalfa grow. The stock feeding upon it look sleek and are in prime condition. Horses, dairy cattle, mules, and hogs fatten on it. Where some settler may have planted a seed by his back porch, there has grown up a fruit tree. Deciduous fruits, grown for home use, do well and have a flavor that is often a pronounced characteristic of fruit grown in high altitudes.

Eight years ago there was not a home in the Imperial Valley of the Colorado Desert. There was not even an Indian *hogan* (earth hut) to shelter the engineers who surveyed the first canals from the Colorado River across the desert. The parched earth was as bare of vegetation as a skating-rink, and it seemed even less promising than Death Valley, for it lacks the mineral wealth of that region, the ground

being a sedimentary deposit from the Colorado River.

To-day a hundred thousand acres are under actual cultivation on the California side of the desert, and ten thousand on the Mexican side. Towns have arisen almost in a night; the principal towns are Imperial, Holtville, Brawley, Calexico, Mexicali, Heber, and Silsbee, ranging from six hundred to eighteen hundred population. There are fifteen thousand people and eleven school districts in the valley.

On the American side of the "desert" (it is no longer a desert), there are fifty thousand acres of barley under cultivation; ten thousand acres are in alfalfa, producing from eight to twelve crops a year, of from one to one and a half tons per acre each cutting. Milo maize, Egyptian corn, sugar-beets, and other field crops, as well as vegetables, grow luxuriantly in the sedimentary soil. Flaming Tokay grapes, melons, and cantaloupes of the finest quality are produced in great abundance. And all this is on the Colorado Desert, a region as unpromising as any locality the government could select for irrigation projects under the Reclamation Act.

Fifty thousand head of cattle are now fattened in the Imperial country for market. There is much dairy stock; horses, mules, and hogs are raised; a horse-breeders' association has been formed for the purpose of introducing blooded stock.

In view of all these facts, it is not too much to hope that these erstwhile arid lands will support per-

manently a large population. For the first time in its history, the government with humanitarian purpose enters upon a work which has hitherto been regarded as belonging to private enterprise.

But irrigation is not the only way the government is putting forth efforts as a home-maker. If a wise man had to say what is the most important task in the training of the people, he would probably say the better teaching of agriculture—the teaching of real farming and not only laboratory or experimental work. We have been trying to do that for a long time with varying success. The Agricultural Department at Washington and the similar departments of many states have worked out interesting results. They have tried to reach the farmers by holding "institutes," by conducting model farms, and by publishing bulletins, many of which most farmers can not understand. This work has been to some purpose, but all the while it has been hard to reach the man who is now tilling the soil, or who will till it, for his living.

But the way has now been found to do this, and it is proving successful. To mention the smaller movement first (which is of very great value and significance), the railroads have carried exact information to men in the fields, in the way of "seed trains." Better yet, the system of agricultural instruction that brings the real farmers to school, and they hear lec-

tures in the fields. Still better, under the direction of the Agricultural Department, skilled men now go to agricultural neighborhoods and conduct farms with the farmers. When the yield of a field in corn or cotton is doubled by proper culture, the man who owns the field and has worked it and come to understand what caused such an increase, has learned a lesson he will never forget.

This is bringing instruction to the farmer who is now working the earth, and all other methods of instructing him, compared with this, are indirect, slow, ineffectual; and, if this method is persisted in, all that the poets and the constructive economists have written about agriculture will soon seem commonplace and tame. Men will find it more profitable than trade and the overstocked professions; and the farmer will really become the large, well-balanced, independent, dominant man that he has always been in tradition, but seldom in fact.

With the Industrial Commissioner of various railroads originated the idea of the "corn train," or a farmers' institute on wheels. The universities could furnish the lecturers, and the railroad could furnish a special train with day coaches turned into lecture halls.

If the farmers could be taught to produce so many more grains to the ear, it would mean so many more bushels to the acre, and there would be so many more thousand bushels for the railroad to carry to the market.

To illustrate what a number of roads over the country are doing to help the farmers, a trip of the Burlington special through Nebraska, described by Eugene P. Lyle, Jr., in *The World's Work*, will prove interesting.

In December, 1904, and in March, 1905, the Burlington ran the first two of its seed and soil trains. They traveled more than 18,000 miles. Stops were made in 123 towns, and 40,000 people attended the 1,300 lectures given. As there are 160,000 farmers in Nebraska, these first two excursions reached one-fourth of them.

In December, 1905, the experiment was tried again. A train made up of two special cars, for the living accommodations of those on board, and two day coaches fitted up as lecture rooms, left Lincoln on the 18th and worked its way westward along the southern edge of the State, sometimes crossing into Kansas.

The first morning out, between Lincoln and the first stop, while the lecturers were arranging their charts, the meaning of their work began to grow apparent from a discussion among themselves. It concerned the character of the soil, the moisture, the climate, and conditions generally, not only of that particular region, but even of that particular county. They had carefully calculated the kinds of corn and the best methods for that particular section, whether for cold, for drouth, or short seasons; and on these subjects with the exact data at hand, they were pre-

pared to talk to the farmers awaiting them at the little town of Sterling. This data had been gathered during three years of tests made under the widely differing conditions in different parts of the State.

Nearly two hundred men boarded the train at the first stop, and crowded into the two lecture coaches. They were American, Western and rough; and in their coarse overcoats and heavy boots they were redolent of the loamy earth or of cattle pens. But these men had telephones in their kitchens—the germ of the up-to-date was in them. They were quick for levity, and they tumbled into the cars and found seats with the same boisterous tolerance that they would have for amateur theatricals at Christmas time. That a stranger, a city man, would win their confidence, was not a foregone conclusion by any means. It was amusing to note the good-natured skepticism die out of their smiles, and their eyes open in a kind of superstitious uncertainty about their former beliefs.

To a large extent, after the momentary glow of credulity, the farmers in talking it over among themselves, fall back to their skepticism. But not all of them resist the temptation just to try the thing a little, and then the stern object-lesson of profit for the believer and loss for the scoffer carries its argument even into the councils of the cross-roads. Here is an example of what fifteen minutes' worth of lecture did for one man. The train was at Hebron, when a farmer in jumper and overalls stopped on his way out

of the car to tell Mr. Manss (the Industrial Commissioner) what he thought of the seed and soil specials.

"I tried to make connections with the lecture at this place last year," he said, "but I came in late, and only heard fifteen minutes of it. Well, sir, that much of it made me just $427 during this here past year. I mean to say I looked into the thing, sent for experiment station bulletins, studied out what they were trying to get at, then worked it out, and my crop brought $427 more than my neighbors got for theirs. They'd made fun of them dude professors, and wouldn't go to the lectures. They're here now, though."

Thus little by little the farmer's hidebound scorn for scientific methods is wearing away, and this, after all, is the hardest victory to win over a grown-up, self-taught class of students. But during the year following there were thirty thousand more applicants than usual for the government monthly agricultural bulletins. And at the Nebraska School of Agriculture the attendance at the farmers' short session was doubled.

There is also the winter corn show, and one would suppose the State was in a frenzy over a little thing like corn. Implement men and others donate prizes valued at $2,000, and there are competitors from nearly every county.

So much for the interest awakened in corn But if in corn, why not in other products? As yet the

idea is a new one, but the indications are that it will be developed much more broadly in the future. We have seen that Nebraska should be earning eighty or ninety million dollars more every year on corn, but Nebraska is only one state and corn is only one product.

Taking corn as an index, it would seem to require no Colonel Sellers' ingenuity in figuring, to say that our country's territory might be virtually expanded by one-third without the addition of another acre. An increase of one-third in our national agricultural prosperity merely represents the possible margin to be attained by the wider dissemination of the "knowing how."

David Fairchild, of the United States Department of Agriculture, in an article on "The New Hope of Farmers," says that not two per cent of the edible plants in the world are cultivated in America, and of these the American farmer knows scarcely a score. These wealth-producers, he says, are being assembled from all parts of the world, and by crossing them with native products new forms of plant life are created that the human eye has never seen, and with flavors that the human palate has never before tasted. Those who have been interested in the experiments of Luther Burbank know that Mr. Fairchild is substantiated in his statement and that, as he says, this new farming is turning the monotony of farm life into the fascinating amusement of a life of discovery.

Thousands of farmers, says Mr. Fairchild, have entered the field of plant breeding, and not a mail passes through the office of Plant Introduction without a request in it for some new plant to be used by an enthusiast in the creating of a new or the improving of an old farm or garden crop. Plants like the asparagus but easier to grow and a third more productive, South American wild celery to cross on the American varieties, improved horseradish that yields a ton more to the acre, new creations in oranges that combine the hardiness of a thorny, deciduous Japanese hedge plant with the fruiting character of the navel orange of California, an asparagus that shall have blended in it the characters of the South African species with the Mediterranean wild forms that cover the slopes of Sicily, new cover crops for the lawns in the arid Southwest, new fodder grasses that have been so improved by selection that they yield fifteen per cent more forage than the ordinary kinds—these are some of the host of new possibilities upon which the experts of the government and the thousands of experimenters are at work. For every locality and every climate there are problems as new and fascinating to be solved.

Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, in his article on "An Agricultural Revolution," tells us about demonstration farms. How the government agents demonstrating to farmers on their own acres have lifted whole sections from poverty to prosperity by their new methods exhibited on a few selected farms.

He tells of going to Texas during the campaign against the boll weevil, and explaining the plan of the Department to meet the evil. Because he came without seed or fertilizer or money for the almost pauperized planters, they were loath to receive him.

Dr. Knapp explained the plan, assured them that the system of tillage would insure a crop, and while they were waiting for the government to give them a few thousand, they could increase their income twenty-five to thirty millions, add to their manhood and become independent. They accepted the explanation and heroically followed instructions. They won.

He also tells how demonstrative farming in Iowa from 1870 to 1880 converted the State from a wheat-growing section to a stock-producing commonwealth. And in 1886 how a section in Louisiana was changed from stock-raising to crop-producing; how the poor Acadian natives, who had not tilled the soil, had never attended school, and could not speak a word of English, were converted by demonstration and are to-day wealthy farmers.

Some of the things the wizards of agriculture are accomplishing are akin to miracles, and presage that the day may soon dawn when we can with profit "beat our swords into plowshares, and our spears into pruning hooks." *i*

CHAPTER XI

WHAT UNCLE SAM IS DOING—ROAD BUILDING

THE importance of the improvement of the common roads in the United States is now so generally conceded that it needs no discussion. This condition of the public mind is new, however. Since the introduction and extension of railways until a few years back the common roads in this country were neglected to such an extent that they became an absolute reproach and hindrance to our civilization. Some ten years ago a systematic campaign was begun to educate the people upon the importance of this subject. The stolid indifference of the people in the country was stupendous, but not surprising when it is considered that the majority of them sincerely believed that the farmers would have to pay the cost of everything in the way of improvement while getting a minimum of advantage. To combat this idea the leaders of road improvement maintained that as the government had used its credit and lands in assisting railway development and river improvement, it should also do something to help the people with the common roads; for it was contended, with entire truth, that while the railways and navigable rivers are the arteries of trade, the common roads are its veins of supply and distribution.

It has not yet been possible to get the government to do anything in the way of direct assistance for road-building, but General Roy Stone some ten years or so ago succeeded in inserting what may prove to be an entering wedge. He persuaded the Agricultural Department to get a small appropriation for the establishment of a Bureau of Road Inquiry. Of this Bureau he was the first director, a post which he held until called to military duties in the war with Spain. With the small appropriation at his command he could not do more than gather data for dissemination by the Department, and in this way, together with personal appeals, stir up interest in a subject which had been dormant for half a century. It was a big and difficult job; but on these very accounts it appealed to him as no easy undertaking ever did.

At the outset he discovered that talking and preaching lacked force. The people would listen, but do nothing. Following the maxim that "seeing is believing," he concluded to try the object-lesson method so successfully adopted in other forms of educational work. But where could he get the money? The United States had provided none, and the only states that were doing anything considerable on their own account — Massachusetts and New Jersey — did not need the assistance of the United States either in the way of money or advice. He kept his eyes on these states, however, and visited many of the others that were most in need of advice and assistance. He persuaded the men who had become interested in other

states to visit places where good modern roads had been built. Here is an instance quoted from one of his earlier reports: "When the members of the Legislature of Virginia visited the roads of New Jersey in the early spring, they found them covered with newly fallen snow, which the farmers removed so as to show the firm, smooth surface underneath. This demonstration and the fact that wet snow did not make the macadam road muddy were worth more than any amount of argument, and the Virginians went home to their impassable highways converted to road improvement."

This, however, was object-lesson teaching at long range. What was desired was to build sections of road in every part of the country, so that the people at home could see what a good road was like, and make personal estimates as to the value. But Congress still lent no assistance. Some other way must be found. The railway companies became interested to an extent, and two at least of the great lines—the Illinois Central and the Southern—in cooperation with the Government Bureau, sent out good roads trains carrying road machinery and road materials, and, at places where either the Bureau or the railways could enlist practical local interest, sections of road were built and the object-lesson pressed home. These object-lessons have borne such good fruit that there are hundreds of miles of good and improved roads—finished or under construction—in sections where ten years ago the subject was not even touched.

On account of the literature pertaining to the Civil War the reading public has probably been made more aware of the bad condition of the roads in the South than elsewhere in the country. The achievements of the Federal commanders were made much more difficult by reason of bad roads, and many mishaps and blunders were attributed to the inability to move troops and transport supplies. These roads except in Virginia, were not much worse than in other parts of the country, but we heard more of them and suffered more by them. Even in the South the road-building spirit has been awakened, and at the end of 1904 the Bureau reported the good roads in a part of that section of country as follows:

Alabama.—About one thousand miles of gravel (including chert) roads and three hundred miles of stone roads.

Florida.—Two hundred miles of shell and gravel roads and one hundred and fifty miles of stone roads.

Georgia.—Eleven hundred miles of gravel roads; more than two hundred miles of stone roads.

Kentucky.—Two thousand miles of gravel roads; five thousand six hundred miles of stone roads, mainly built as toll roads, but now free.

North Carolina.—Four hundred miles of gravel roads; three hundred miles of stone roads.

Tennessee.—Twelve hundred miles of gravel roads; one thousand miles of stone roads.

Virginia.—Three hundred miles of gravel roads; five hundred and fifty miles of stone roads (mainly built as toll roads).

All this has not been done since the starting of the road improvement movement. But much of this has been done in the past ten years. In some of the

states in the South the convict labor is used in the making of roads, with excellent results so far as the road-making itself is concerned.

Next to actual achievement in the making of the roads, the most notable result of the campaign of education has been the alteration of old road laws and the enactment of the new ones under which the states can aid counties and localities where there is a desire for road improvement. According to the last information, road laws that will enable the communities to get better roads have been passed in the following states: Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, and the Territory of New Mexico. This is surely a great showing, considering the comparatively small means that have been at the disposal of the active agents who have given direction and impetus to the agitation. There is scarcely a state in the Union in which object-lesson roads have not been built. And none of them have been without result. The last report of the Bureau shows that this object-lesson road-building is being kept up with unabated zeal.

Of course, the ideal kind of road for the principal highways is the macadam. This can not be built everywhere because of the cost of getting proper material. But in the papers issued by the Bureau instructions are given as to how to build these roads,

and considerable stress is laid upon drainage. This, I think, is not dwelt upon sufficiently, for, as a matter of fact, Macadam maintained in the beginning, and all competent road-building engineers have cheerfully assented to his teaching, that drainage is of the first as well as last importance. He said that the dry earth would hold any load that could be put upon it; the first thing to do, therefore, was so to drain the roadbed that it was never dampened except by the direct rainfall and snow, and then keep the roadbed dry by means of his pavement, which was really only a roof. Where this cardinal principle of road-making is disregarded, the money spent is practically thrown away.

The re-location of roads where the grades are unduly steep is insisted upon. The insistence of the Bureau in this regard has not been heeded to any great extent where the road-building has been in the hands of local authorities. The neighborhood pressure brought upon them is usually more than they can withstand. In states, however, where road-making is under the supervision of state authorities, there have been many more re-locations so as to secure proper gradients.

To give an idea of the importance of grades in road-building I quote Gillespie, who says: "As a general rule, the horizontal length of a road may be advantageously increased to avoid an ascent; that is, to escape a hill 100 feet high, it would be proper for the road to make such a circuit as would increase its

length 2,000 feet. . . . A straight line is the shortest distance between two points, but this is not always a rule to be followed, for sometimes the longest way round is the shortest way home." Gillespie estimated that if a horse could pull on a level 1,000 pounds, then on a rise of—

1 foot in				Pounds.
100	feet	the	horse draws.....	900
50	"	"	.....	810
44	"	"	.....	750
40	"	"	.....	720
30	"	"	.....	640
25	"	"	.....	540
24	"	"	.....	500
20	"	"	.....	400
10	"	"	.....	250

It is therefore seen that when the grades are one foot in forty-four feet, or one hundred and twenty feet to the mile, a horse can draw only three-fourths as much as he can on a level; where the grade is one foot in twenty-four feet, or two hundred and twenty feet to the mile, he can draw only one-half as much. As a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, just so the greatest load which can be hauled over a road is the load which can be hauled through the deepest mud-hole or up the steepest hill on that road. The cost of hauling is, therefore, necessarily increased in proportion to the roughness of the surface or steepness of the grade.

The instruction by the government has by no means been confined to the building of stone roads, as

it is recognized that much the greater road-mileage is made up of earth roads. And this probably will still be the case when all the principal highways have been roofed with stone or some other material serving the same purpose. In the making of an earth road the same cardinal principle obtains that is needed for the construction of a stone road. It must be thoroughly drained, and then the surface of the road must be so shaped that the water will run directly into the ditches on either side and not down the road. In the latter case the gullies are made, and the earth roadbed is converted into mud. Water is the great enemy of roads when not properly treated; properly treated, it is a beneficent agent, as it helps to consolidate the surface materials, and at the same time frees the surface of dust and uncleanliness.

Notwithstanding all this good work in the way of theoretical instruction and practical object-lessons, Congress has done nothing in the way of appropriations beyond maintaining the Bureau, though bills have been introduced and discussed. They have been passed by, I believe, and not defeated by direct vote. And I have no reason to hope that they will not continue to be passed by, and the matter left entirely to the states, some of which are pressing ahead in the work with commendable zeal. Massachusetts and New Jersey, with their state-aid laws, are still in the van, but the recently passed amendment to the constitution of the state of New York will enable the people of that State to build hundreds of miles of roads

each year. These state-aid laws provide that where a locality—town, township, or county—is willing to bear a certain proportion of the cost of the improvement of a road approved by the State Commission, then the state will pay the remainder. In Massachusetts the state authorities supervise the building of the roads. This is as it should be. In New Jersey the county authorities have charge; this is as bad as it can be. Where local authorities have charge of work such as this, which is at least semiscientific, too many influences, as before remarked, as to locations and materials are brought to bear with all the potency of neighborhood graft.

But the United States Government as a teacher has only begun its work. The problems in the various parts of the country differ very greatly. In some parts there is stone exactly of the proper sort; in other parts there is abundance of stone, but not of the right kind; in other parts there is a great scarcity of stone, but plenty of wood; while in still other parts there is neither wood nor stone. To show the local road-builders how to adapt available means to their needs requires research, skill, practical ingenuity, and, above all, experienced common sense. And when a road has been built, the work may be said to have been only begun, for the road has to be maintained during all its life. To maintain and keep in good order a poorly constructed road is quite impossible; but the best road will go to pieces and ravel out unless it be maintained all the time. The old adage, "A stitch in

time saves nine," is as applicable to road maintenance as to a farmer's clothing. A road should never be suffered to get out of order. The very day that raveling begins it should be stopped. Therefore a man with a cart containing material and tools should patrol every section of road every week, or, better still, every day, and mend the raveled places then and there. Such a method of maintenance will save each township hundreds of dollars a year, besides keeping the roads always in good order.

So it will be seen that the educational work undertaken by the government is not completed, and is not likely to be until there are good roads, properly maintained, all over the country. The policy of the zealous directors up to now seems to have been to keep up the enthusiasm by national, state, and local meetings; by building object-lesson roads wherever the means to build them could be found; by maintaining a laboratory for the examination of materials submitted, and by generally encouraging all who are interested or should be interested in the subject.

The most ambitious of the object-lesson roads is called the Jefferson Memorial Road, and runs from Charlottesville, in Virginia, where the University of Virginia is situated, to Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson. This is a hilly country, and a degree of engineering skill is required in the location of a road with easy grades. When this work was inaugurated, a National Road Convention was held at Charlottesville, and some of the most distinguished

men in the country took enthusiastic part in the discussions. This road has not yet been finished, for lack of means, but that it will be completed very soon is the cheerful hope of all who know about it.

That the work of road-building in the United States will receive any serious checks other than those incident to the recurrence of "hard times" seems improbable, for people once accustomed to good roads will never be content with the bad ones which were, and, for that matter, are, the rule in this country. There is one danger, however, which is ever present. The country people themselves have been argued and persuaded into this betterment of their roads. They needed them but did not want them. If road-builders make bad roads that quickly wear out and are costly in maintenance, there will be discouragement, disgust, and then revolt on the part of the taxpayers. That would mean a serious check. The only way to obviate this is to educate a large number of road engineers. Some of the agricultural colleges have taken this up. At present the demand is much beyond the supply, and so it comes to pass that many road improvements are put in charge of men much better qualified to plow than to establish lines, determine upon grades, and judge of the materials used in construction. We often hear that all the ranks of endeavor are crowded; here is one that is not.[k]

CHAPTER XII

IS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP A FALLACY?

PERHAPS no public question has been so much agitated in the past five years as public ownership of public utilities. In discussing the question in *Appleton's Magazine,* Mr. Allan L. Benson is pleased to call it a "popular fallacy," and his argument sustaining his conclusion is interesting and brings out many points apt to be overlooked by enthusiasts who are in favor of its adoption by the United States.

Mr. Benson says that the workers want it. They believe the arguments of their leaders. They are confident that it will increase the margin between wages and the cost of living. And it is the workers of the whole country that have made it certain that the question of public ownership must be met and settled—and that, too, within the next decade, apparently.

We hear much of the success of public ownership in Germany, but the Germans are a vastly different people from the Americans. The Germans are not in such a hurry to "arrive." They believe public ownership leads *toward* the goal of all they desire to accomplish; the Americans believe it leads *to* it. The Germans are willing to wait to see the end gradually arrive; the Americans would be disappointed did it not at once fulfil their expectations.

And this is why Mr. Benson says that the question is being projected into American politics in an unusual way, and that the American people are approaching the question of public ownership as no other people have ever approached it. They are expecting it to accomplish results that it has never accomplished in any other country. The class of men who form the main division of the American movement are the class of men who brought up the rear in other lands, and the class of men who are bringing up the rear of the American movement, or perhaps fighting it, are the class of men who led the hosts abroad. Altogether the situation is so unusual as to give rise to the suspicion that a wide-spread misapprehension exists in this country as to what public ownership may reasonably be expected to do. The American people know what they want it to do in this critical emergency that Professor Reeve has so aptly called the "third vital crisis" in our country's history.

They want it to ease up on their pocketbooks a little, to give them relief from the extortions of the transportation trusts, the water, gas, express, telegraph, and telephone companies, and possibly from the rapacity of the coal trust, too. Complaining not so much that the prices of farm products or the wages of workers are too low, both the farmers and the wage-workers complain that the cost of living is too high. The wide-spread opposition to the trusts is but the expression of this belief.

Great disappointments are not conducive to the well-being of a nation. It is therefore worth while to ascertain whether public ownership has accomplished in other countries what its advocates promise and their followers believe it would accomplish even in this country. And it is also of interest to know what class of men brought about public ownership in the countries in which it is now in effect, and what were their motives. If the motives of those who brought about public ownership in foreign countries were different from the motives of the farmers and wage-workers who are advocating public ownership in this country, we should know it. And if their motives were different from our own, we should try to discover whether their expectations were realized. For the laws of economics are as universal in their application as the laws of mathematics. Two and two everywhere make four, no more surely than do like economic laws everywhere tend to produce the same results even though operating under dissimilar conditions. And if we shall discover that public ownership abroad was introduced by a different class of men for a different purpose, we shall do well to consider whether it will be likely to accomplish our purpose, if adopted here.

Great Britain is the country to which Mr. Benson confines his investigations, because, as he says, no country surpasses Great Britain in the extent to which it has taken over the ownership of municipal public utilities. The government, with its parcels post, has

reduced the cost of carrying express packages to a fraction of what we pay, and most of the cities operate their own street-railways, their electric-light and water plants, and their telephone systems. Many cities have also built tenement houses for their poor. The Tramways Act, passed by Parliament in 1870, is the law under which all of the municipal street-railway systems are operated. Under it the cities first acquired possession of the tracks, as Chicago has voted to do, the public operation of the systems being delayed until 1891, since which time forty British cities have undertaken the operation of their own street-railway lines. Coming to the questions of who were the prime movers in these undertakings and what were their motives, Frederick C. Howe, Ph. D., is quoted. Mr. Howe has made three separate investigations of municipal ownership in Great Britain, the last of which was made in the summer of 1905, and is reported in a United States Bureau of Labor Bulletin. He says:

"Municipal ownership was primarily promoted by *business men* in control of the town councils. . . . Thus far the movement has had with it the large element which passes in Great Britain without protest as 'the middle class.' This class is dominant in local politics, though not in Parliament. From it the majority of the town councils are made up. *It is the great tax-paying class,* and it has seemingly been following what it deemed to be *self-interest,* in the promotion of schemes for the ownership of the street-railway, electricity and gas undertakings."

Then a little later on he says:

"In its present stage of development, municipal ownership is inspired by no ideal of a changed social order, and the movement is likely to continue to be one for improved service, *for business thrift,* for the relief of the tax-payer from the *burdens of taxation,* and for *increased revenue for the community.*"

It thus appears that it was the business men who caused British cities to invest in public utilities and that their motives were purely selfish. They were not thinking about the "submerged tenth" or of anybody else but themselves. They wanted better street-car facilities, better lighted streets, better water supplies, because they realized that these public improvements were all conducive to the growth of cities and to the improvement of trade. And they were also much interested, according to Mr. Howe, in contriving some scheme whereby their own taxes could be reduced.

The question that next arises is: Were their expectations realized? Did public ownership do what it was intended to do?

It is a matter of common knowledge that the public ownership of street-railways in Great Britain has resulted in better service. The rates of fare are also lower, and better working positions have been provided for the employees. The hours of labor have been reduced in all cases, and the wages themselves have been increased in some cases. Free uniforms are also given, together with a week's vacation each

year with pay. But the benefits to the employees affect only a small part of the communities, and were not the considerations that moved the business men who brought about public ownership. *They wanted lower taxes.*

Let us see, then, if public ownership has done anything to relieve British tax-payers. This is important, because if taxes had not been reduced by public ownership, the British tax-payers would have been as disappointed as the American wage-workers and farmers would be if public ownership applied to all of the public utilities in this country should fail to accomplish their purpose—the increase of the margin between income and the cost of living.

Mr. Howe, in his report to the Bureau of Labor, says that public ownership has materially reduced taxes in the British cities in which it is in effect. He appends a long list of figures showing the amount each of the public utilities has contributed toward this reduction.

The point is that in all these various undertakings public ownership has done what its promoters, the business men, intended it to do. It has given better service. It has decreased taxation. It has afforded large public funds for public improvements.

And it has even done more. The business men who made public ownership a fact were not primarily concerned about providing better conditions for the employees of public utilities, or about reducing the cost of wage-workers' living, yet public ownership

has done both. The private owner's profit on every product has been divided by the municipalities between the public, which derives its part in the form of lower taxes, and the result, of course, has been reduced cost of living for the Briton who gets his house rent, beef, oysters, street-railway service, gas, electricity, water, soap, oil, tallow, mortar, and so on, at municipal-ownership prices.

The question that we Americans now want answered above all others is, whether all of these reductions of the cost of the British wage-worker's living has improved the financial condition of the British working class.

We want to know whether it has helped to settle the unemployed problem, by giving work to more men. We want to know whether those who have employment are enabled to save more, as the result of the decreased cost of living.

We want these questions answered, because if the public utilities of the United States ever become publicly owned, it will be because a majority of the voters have so expressed themselves, and the majority of the voters are not primarily interested in lower taxes. The United States Census Reports for 1900 show that 53.5 per cent of the families in the United States live in rented houses. Nor are we primarily concerned about improving the service given by our various public utilities. So far as efficiency is concerned, at least, American railways are not excelled by the railways of any other country,

although they have given much ground for complaint because of their discrimination between persons and places. Nor are our other public utilities inferior to similar utilities elsewhere. And while we want the best obtainable service of all kinds, we are more concerned because we believe we are paying too much for the service we get. We believe the products of our labor are being confiscated in part by high prices. And for millions of others it is too difficult to find employment. Mr. C. D. Kellogg, of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Prof. R. T. Ely, of Wisconsin University, have both separately estimated those receiving pauper aid in the United States as no fewer than 3,000,000 persons, and all who are out of work do not ask pauper aid. So we want something done to solve the unemployed problem.

If the public ownership of public utilities has anything in it that tends to reduce the number of the unemployed, or to benefit the financial condition of those who have employment by reducing the cost of their living, Great Britain's experience ought to show it. Great Britain has been experimenting with public ownership for forty years. With what result, so far as the objects that we expect public ownership to achieve are concerned?

John Burns, a member of the present Liberal ministry, says that there were never before so many unemployed persons in England as there are to-day, and that never before was their condition so miserable. And in saying this much he gives expression

to a fact that is only too apparent to all who have observed the miseries of the English poor. Nor is the failure of public ownership to relieve their suffering hard to find. These men want an opportunity to work. It matters not to them that public ownership has reduced the price of oysters if they have not the price. *They want work,* and public ownership, quite naturally, has nothing to offer them that private ownership did not offer. Public ownership, in well-governed cities like the English cities, is directed toward economical production, and if the public owner should require more men to do a given amount of work than could work to advantage, production would become wasteful instead of economical.

So it appears that all of England's public ownership has done nothing to solve her unemployed problem.

Has it improved the financial condition of those who have employment? Has the reduction in the cost of their living which public ownership has brought about left a greater part of their wages to be expended for current luxuries or to be laid away for old age? We want to know about this, because the working men who are voting for public ownership in this country believe it will help them by reducing the cost of living.

Again, we may go to a report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for an answer. Prof. E. R. L. Gould made an exhaustive study of the wages and family expenditures of various classes of English

wage-earners in 1891, after the public ownership of public utilities had been in effect twenty years. He found the workers in eight representative trades working for wages that represented only the reduced cost of living and the barest margin for the savings bank or for luxuries.

So it is apparent that while public ownership has done in Great Britain what the business men who advocated it expected it to do, it has not done what the wage-workers in America who have voted for it or who stand ready to vote for it, expect it to do here if tried.

Mr. Benson gives the experience of a number of European countries that have tried public ownership, including Germany, France, Belgium, and New Zealand. The experience of these different countries establishes the fact that the public ownership of public utilities does decrease the cost of living, but the question arises:

Since the wages of workers still represent only a trifle more than the cost of mere existence, what becomes of the profits that they formerly paid to the private owners of public utilities?

Actual operation has apparently developed the fact that a reduction in the cost of living that is always brought about by the public ownership of public utilities is of financial advantage only to landlords and the employers of labor. The landlord "gets his" in the lower taxes that are made possible by the use of part of the profits of public utilities for general

municipal expenses. And as the wages paid to labor are, broadly speaking, always based on the cost of living on the lowest scale upon which labor will consent to exist, any reduction in the cost of living inevitably operates to the financial advantage of the employers of labor. This would not be true if there were not more men in the world than there are jobs under the competitive system of industry. As it is, the unemployed are always competing for the jobs of the employed, and when public ownership or anything else reduces the cost of living, the unemployed find it out as quickly as does anybody else, and offer to work for less. And as capitalists, in order to meet the competition of their business rivals, are compelled to cut every possible corner, they buy their labor as they buy their raw materials, hiring the men who are willing to work most cheaply, all other things being equal. Nor does the public ever have an opportunity to reap any advantage from the lower cost of labor in the form of reduced prices for the things that labor makes. If the trust principle be applied to industry, monopoly keeps the prices up, and under competition, production is so wasteful that prices can not be reduced.

Judging from the experience of other countries, the fundamental error of the American people in considering public ownership of public utilities appears to lie in the fact that they have overlooked the existence of the problem of the unemployed in this country. In other words, they have failed to take into consideration

that even when industrial conditions are at the best, there are in all countries at all times more men seeking jobs than there are jobs seeking men. The *personnel* of the great army of the unemployed is always changing—the man who is employed to-day is idle to-morrow—but the army itself is always present, millions strong. Its members are always seeking the jobs of the employed, and as working for a wage that represents only a living is better than idleness, the very existence of the army tends to keep wages down nearly to the cost of living, whatever that cost may be. Of course, the cost of living is always based on the standard of living of the worker. Each industry has its own "irreducible minimum," below which the worker will not go. And the greater competition for jobs in a given industry, the nearer wages will descend in that industry to the point where they amount only to a bare living for the workers. There is little competition for jobs among railroad presidents. Few men have the ability to be railroad presidents. The standard of living of railroad presidents is high. Therefore, the salaries of railroad presidents are also high. But the laws of a nation should contemplate the welfare of the average man—the man in whose occupation there is much competition for employment. We need not concern ourselves about the geniuses. Geniuses will take care of themselves in any country.

American wage-workers and farmers who expect the public ownership of public utilities to leave them

a wider margin between incomes and living expenses, disregard not only these facts, but they also fail to take into consideration the results of public ownership in other countries. They fail to recognize the significance of the unemployed, the very existence of which means that there are more men in the world than the employers can hire at a profit. Without this army, public ownership would do in this country, and would have done in other countries, precisely what the American workers believe it would do in the United States. The saving in the cost of living would go to the workers, because the competition among employers for wage-workers would prevent wages from falling after public ownership has caused the cost of living to fall.

The "general belief of the people" that public ownership of public utilities would save them a few dollars each year in the cost of living, may be wrong —*is* wrong if logic and the experience of other countries may be depended upon. But even if this belief be "groundless," reasons are not lacking for the further belief that it will "work its effect as sure as truth itself." Public ownership will unlock the lock that apparently can not be unlocked in any other way—the lock that holds the door between us and our own. The unhappy New Zealand of sixteen years ago is using the key of public ownership with great success. Great Britain, Germany, and France are preparing to use it. We need to use it as much as do any of the others.

But we should not mistake the possession of the key for the contents of the treasure-house to which it may lead us. To do so would prove to be a great national disappointment, if we may judge from the experience of other nations who have traveled the path upon which we are apparently about to set our feet.

And, as was said at the beginning, "great national disappointments are not conducive to the well-being of a nation, especially in times of stress and discontent."[1]

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICAN WOMEN

WITH what charming seriousness does the average foreigner speak of "the feminine rule in America," writes Josephine Conger-Kaneko in *The World's Work*. He discusses it much as we discuss American rule in the Philippines. He asks, "Is it good?" "Is it bad?" But he never doubts its existence. When a foreign scholar comes to this country, one of the first subjects of interest to him is the American woman. To him she is the first and most pronounced product of man's attempt at building up a new political state in a new country, under democratic institutions. He will never admit that he quite likes her, and this is not surprising, since she defies his attempts at analyzing her, and leaves him in greater ignorance at the conclusion of his investigations regarding her than he was before he saw her.

The American woman is the subject of much criticism. A German university professor recently declared that American culture is essentially "effeminated." Perhaps this is, in a measure, true. But it is better to have an "effeminated" culture than no culture.

The elements of tradition and climate, always powerful in the formation of character, are particularly so under the stimulus of new influences in fresh sur-

roundings. The American woman is not fettered by past centuries. She is braced by a bright and invigorating climate. In pioneer times the American woman attained a large measure of independence, both of status and of character, together with some special concessions due to her scarcity. When primitive conditions gave place to the life of the modern industrial city, with the swift emergencies of a new rich class, the women had not had time to lose all the transmitted energy and personal efficiency of the earlier womanhood, and adapted to the new circumstances of a leisured life some of the traditional independence.

It is not true that the American woman aims to be a competitor with her brother. She is his associate, his compeer. The men with a chivalrous, almost Quixotic gallantry, have set her upon a pedestal, and maintain the idolatry. Little wonder if she thinks a lot of herself. Her success in the Woman's Department of the Chicago World's Fair was what she herself called an "eye-opener" to the universe, and she forthwith reinvested that capital to enormous advantage. What that success amounted to at the time, the world hardly realized, and has now almost forgotten. It was nothing revolutionary, nothing subversive of the old order of things. It was the concentration of organization, administration, and sustained courage. It was a revelation of wide tolerance, broad horizon, and the unexampled belief which women have in each other. It was a surprise to the

world, and all the more so that it was achieved by no special prophet from the wilderness. It was conceived, initiated, undertaken, and carried through by essentially womanly women. It was an expression of very womanly sentiment. The best workers in that wonderful department were the best type of womanhood—the mothers, the home-makers, the housekeepers of the country. And the American women are a nation of housekeepers. To be a success, a cook-book, a new sauce, an improved range, a prepared food, or a pointer in washing machines must be indorsed by them. The Quaker Oats of American manufacture has seriously poached upon the preserves of the land of cakes itself, and a New England kitchen has become a proverb. There are more magazines published in the United States on purely domestic affairs in one month than in the rest of the world in twelve. They have coined a new term, "Household Economics," and created a new faculty in their colleges, that of "Domestic Science."

In this day of "trusts," in the very home of the "combine," the American woman does not shrink from running her own little show single-handed. In her husband's office an invoice is an invoice, a spade is a spade. The "hands" work because their work tells. It leads to promotion. From log cabin to White House is the fundamental principle of business life. The business is divided into departments. Each department has its responsible head. The American woman comes down to breakfast to cope

with a score of distinct departments, with no head but her own. Purchasing, cooking, cleaning, handling of servants, society matters, the health and education of her household,—all await her sole and responsible attention. For her there is no "sub." Her business has no partner. In her husband's office, the message boy becomes the clerk, the clerk the manager, the manager the partner. In her household from January to December, from start to finish, she lives under the twentieth-century dictatorship of homesick young women from foreign countries, spinsters and widows who must "support" themselves, and (worse than widows) wives who have to turn out to support invalid, unemployed, or improvident husbands. A little ready cash, a stock of gloves and ribbons, is what these "dictators" want to tide over the sand-banks until matrimony is reached.

Concerning the social system that the American woman through her culture and tactfulness has been able to build up, an able analyst of American society explains that the first need of the industrial male conqueror is to display his financial power through ostentatious waste and conspicuous leisure. Since natural inclination and habit preclude the successful trust-maker, railroad man, or Wall Street speculator from performing these rites in his own person, his wife and daughters become the willing instruments of the vicarious expenditure of time and money that attest his economic prowess. Hence he remains a business man; they become society ladies, carrying

into their career the energy, confidence, and resourcefulness of the backwoodsman's granddaughter.

On account of this condition of affairs large numbers of college-bred men, men of true culture, must hide their light and accept salaried positions in the industrial world that their wives and daughters may shine in society. The story is told of a college man in the industrial field which illustrates this condition, and his experience is common among business men. He said to a friend:

"I have become a mere machine for turning out $5,000 a year. That is the price of my wife's happiness, and it takes all my time and strength and brain to earn it. I can't talk new books, or new plays, or golf, or anything else that her set talks about, and I'm so dead tired that I sleep most of the day on Sunday. I'm out of her class now; I haven't had time to keep up. The worst is, the doctor says that I have a weak heart and may go off at any minute; and I haven't been able to lay up anything for my family to live on when I'm gone."

On the other hand, the wives of these higher-salaried machines are mistresses of their own time, and they use it in every social way. In too many cases they are moved by the spirit of sport, of ennui, or amusement with the result that a chronic dilettanteism has entered into the warp and woof of our social life, affecting it seriously, making it shoddy, in fact. The most serious phases of life are converted by them into a means of personal entertainment. Not long

ago Madame Breshkovsky was touring this country in the interest of the Russian sufferers, and was entertained at a Chicago settlement house. As she told of the fearful oppression, one lady who had become quite enthusiastic during the recital, remarked excitedly: "My, how romantic! Really, one feels that she is living the French Revolution over again." And so in many of our departments of activity there are women who insist upon "lending a hand" because the thing is "so romantic, don't you know." It is the picturesque which appeals to them rather than the consciousness of a serious need.

The educated working woman, however, is intensely serious in her public work, and whatever stability and character may be found in affairs under feminine control are due to her efforts. The women teachers who go from their colleges to small, uncultivated towns, carry with them that sense of responsibility which causes the culture that they have imbibed to impregnate the entire atmosphere of the community. Untiring effort, day and night, to awaken a love for good literature, good music and good pictures is not without its effect. Girls whose mothers had never advanced much beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic, find themselves studying Greek art and German music. They read French literature, and on Friday afternoons debate political questions with the boys.

The same young girls inspire in their mothers and other married women a desire to learn new things,

to "broaden out," and thus clubs are formed. Some of these are musical clubs, and the stiff fingers of many a busy housekeeper are worked into a degree of suppleness in the practice of half-forgotten tunes which had been learned in girlhood days. All this mental contact with the outside world creates a desire for better home conditions, and women's town improvement leagues are formed, through which excellent work is done for the welfare of the community.

In the great cities the feminine influence goes into every nook and cranny of social development. A woman has been suggested as mayor of Chicago, and the "civic creed" of Chicago was composed by a woman and is recited every day by thousands of schoolchildren. Women compose very largely the reading public, and no current novel can succeed without their patronage. Art exhibits are conducted by women, and women hold executive offices in world's fair committees. They serve as chairmen of school boards, they are at the head of and successfully conduct in all details gigantic beneficiary societies. They torment, through their municipal leagues, the party leaders. They are notable as charity workers and they have made reputations as doctors, lawyers, magazine editors, newspaper reporters, preachers, and labor organizers and agitators. Indeed, where in the United States do we not find the woman with her influence battering at all doors?

The women have established, in fact, what, had it occurred under different conditions and in another

age, would have been considered the most radical revolution in the world's history. Indeed, it could not have occurred without bloodshed—this progress of woman, and her development into an element to be reckoned with in all non-political, and many political, functions of life.

Social enjoyment, philanthropy, self-improvement, a love of study, a spirit of usefulness, a broader horizon, intellectual activity are all very dear to the women of the United States. But along with the enthusiasm for these things industrial enthusiasm is running a swift race, and what is more important than her social progress since pioneer times, is woman's industrial evolution. This activity among women and children is a surprise to those who first meet it. It is breathed with the air. Self-reliance is packed into every household pie. Independence is the watchword of the constitution. The self-made man is the hero of the day. He is more spoken of, written about, lectured on than any other commercial commodity in a very commercial country. From log cabin to White House is the only journey in the United States for which there is no return ticket. Every Yankee boy sets out deliberately with the determination of buying the ticket. It is an infectious thing. His sisters won't be left at home. Free from Old World traditions, they reverse the old order. It is no shame to work. It is a shame to be idle. The United States is the working woman's country. The American woman has made this the Woman's

Day and Woman's Century. Even an occasional hot-house growth in the shape of a publisher, an estate agent, a stock-broker, a coal dealer, a doctor, a lawyer, a preacher, and a mayor crops up. In some quarters it is believed that the high-water mark has been reached, and the tide shows a decided tendency to turn. In railways, banks, postoffices, and government departments, and in many commercial houses thousands of women have been recently written off the lists and men substituted. A railway official, speaking of this, said that it is accounted for from the fact that women can not stand in the line of promotion, and then asked how a woman could possibly be promoted to the position of general superintendent.

The most striking thing about the wages of women is that they are generally lower, and very much lower, than those of men. Roughly speaking, they are about half. This can not be accounted for on the ground of women as inferior workers. The explanation is that women generally occupy non-competing groups relative to men; the fact being that when women enter a trade, they speedily monopolize it. In this case the natural sex disabilities which prevent them combining, tend to bring the wage—however high it was when men occupied the industry—to a level with or even below subsistence. When women combine in the same trade with men, as they sometimes do, their wages keep up to the men's rates. The specific difficulty of the problem is, that, while women must share with men in the one portion of the national

dividend that falls to labor as against the other factors, the great majority of them, either as living with parents or as married, are not independent units, and the woman's wage is part of a "family wage."

The census of 1900 showed that, during the preceding decade, young working women increased at a more rapid rate than any other class of workers; that one-half of the five million wage-earning women were girls under the age of twenty-five years; that while the largest per cent of working men were adults in the prime of strength between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four years, the largest per cent of working women were between sixteen and twenty-one years. It is for this class that almost vain attempts have been made to secure favorable legislation. 'Tis time they are protected by laws that provide for sanitation, ventilation, and lighting, for fire-escapes and a noon hour; in some states there is a guarding of dangerous machinery, and payment of wages and attendance of surgeons in case of accidents, but these provisions equally protect the men.

One of the most perplexing problems that confronts reformers in connection with the employment of women is "night work." The dangers of night work are twofold—physical and moral. On account of lack of efficiency in medical records, it is not possible to prove by statistics just how detrimental to health this evil is. But certain it is that anemia, nervous exhaustion, and general susceptibility to disease

can be traced to loss of sleep due to night labor. The direct effect of night work on the health may be observed in one occupation where such work is as unavoidable as it is well arranged; that is, hospital nursing. Even in hospitals where night work is carefully regulated—a period of three months being considered excessive—and where night nurses are required to rest and sleep during the daytime, their standard of health is below that of day nurses. How must it be, then, with those who work nights in laundries, binderies, and textile mills, where night work is long continued for women whose home conditions make it impossible to sleep or rest by day?

The moral danger of night work is obvious. The danger of the streets in going to and coming from work; association with all kinds of men employees at late night hours; the difficulty of women who are away from their families finding respectable places to live where they may enter late at night; and the moral peril of the midnight recess in establishments that run all night long.

In spite of the dangers of night work and the effect it has of ruining the health and morals of women, only four out of the fifty-two states and territories prohibit the employment of women at night. These states are Indiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and New York. In New Jersey girls under eighteen are prohibited from working in bakeries at night; and in Ohio night work for girls under eighteen is prohibited. Many other indignities besides that of night

work beset the woman wage-earner in America, and the status of American working women will never reach perfection until the legislatures of the country enact and enforce a few beneficent statutes.

When spinning and weaving and scores of other industries went from the home to the factory, many young women followed, but the daughters of the well-to-do and wealthy families remained at home and found themselves without occupation. Many of them had too much moral earnestness to be satisfied with the vapid institution called society; hence the new impulse toward higher education among women, and the multiplication of colleges which can not make room for the girls who flock to them; hence also the growth of women's clubs as a means of culture and a filling in of unoccupied time.

Thus leisure and wealth are bringing to women a larger life with larger possibilities. They are rapidly becoming in America the educated sex, with all that that implies. Our high schools very commonly graduate two or three times as many girls as boys. The latter drop out of school that they may go into business.

By reason of a liberal education and courses of study pursued at home in middle life, for which business men have no time, there has come to be a large class of women who are much better informed as to social conditions than their husbands; they have also more public spirit or at least more time to devote to the public good.

Neither society nor the opportunities of the industrial world are satisfying to the American woman, and no fear need be felt that the foundations of the American home are tottering. Underneath all the unrest and undefined longing, there is in almost every woman the saving desire for the commonplace. There is something pathetic in the ill-disguised yearning of women who have been caught in the cog-wheels of a nation's destiny, or thrust into public view by fame, for the quiet home and conventional life they might have had. This feeling was voiced years ago by Abigail Adams in one of her letters to her husband when she said: "I recollect the untitled man to whom I gave my heart, and I wish he had never been any other."

Aspiration is a characteristic of the American woman more than of the sex in other countries, but aspiration for education, for suffrage, and a part in the active affairs of life does not of necessity mean ill health, a flat chest, and the sacrifice of grace and beauty. The American woman is a firm believer in athletics. At college she gives as much attention to sports as does her brother, and she refuses to confine herself to the gentler pastimes of basket-ball, croquet, or tennis. She plays football, though it must be confessed with rules a trifle modified, and she plays baseball, and has her eight-oared and four-oared crews, too.

Perhaps it is her consciousness of ability to understand the whys and wherefores of masculine sports

that gives the American woman her air of independence in every-day life. She needs no escort to the theater at night. When she wants to take a journey, though it be across the continent, she has only to consult her pocketbook, and does not need a body-guard.

We could not close a chapter on the Women of the United States without some reference at least to their efforts to obtain possession of the ballot, though so wide-spread is this information that it need only be mentioned here. For two generations has the work been going on, and the American way has been patient appeal to wisdom. It is a slow way, but the only sure way, and fair success has been gained. There is full suffrage for women in six of the far western States: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Washington, and California. Eastward "the Star of Empire takes its way," and last fall's elections brought into the fold Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, and Illinois. The Progressive National Convention endorsed Woman Suffrage and many of the Republican State conventions did the same. In the last Presidential campaign women, as never before, were campaign speakers. There is every appearance that in a dozen years half our States will give votes to women."

CHAPTER XIV

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND THEIR WORK

IN reviewing the social and political life of the nation, we should omit a great factor for good were we to overlook the work that women's organizations are doing. In order to cover the subject briefly and as thoroughly as possible, we take it up under the workings of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which, with its great biennial conventions and its well-developed machinery for reaching the homes of America, is one of the most potent influences for good in the social and political life of the nation. The Federation now contains over five thousand clubs, organized in forty-six states, with an aggregate membership of over eight hundred thousand women. This includes clubs of all kinds, literary clubs and special societies.

But there could have been no federation without clubs, and the question arises, Whence came the woman's club and why? This is a difficult question to answer. "When a set of men find themselves agreed in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a club." Thus said Addison a century ago. Human nature does not change much as the years go by, and the motive that originated men's clubs is responsible also for the origin of women's clubs, which did not come into evidence in Amer-

ica until the latter half of the last century. Some say that women's clubs are an imitation of men's ways, but if they were, they would have come into being much sooner. It was the industrial evolution of woman in the United States that made the woman's club a necessity. As soon as woman asserted her independence and forced her way into the business world and the professions; when by necessity she took up her abode in lodgings, apartment houses, and flats, then did the want make itself known that only the club could supply. In England, because the women have delayed entering business circles, the woman's club is very much of a social nature, its office being to entertain friends and make a place for the drinking of a social cup of tea and the exchange of gossip. So it falls to the lot of America to show the practical workings of the woman's club.

It has been said that the distinction of the American woman lies in her faculty for utilizing knowledge and adapting it to visible ends. To a combination of many talents has been added one to make them all available. It is a talent for "arriving;" in other words, a talent for success, either with or without intellectual ability of a high order, and consists largely in a keen insight as to serviceable values, with an aptness for catching salient points and using them to the best advantage. It is a variation of the same talent that has made our country the wonder of the age. In men it is called business sagacity; in women we call it cleverness. Its shades are endless

and may be seen in their best light in the work of the women's clubs, but a golden prophecy foretells that woman's cleverness, if you choose to call it that, will find its greatest use erelong in politics.

Mrs. J. C. Croly, well known as "Jennie June," struck the key-note of the cause of the creation of women's clubs in this passage in one of the opening chapters of her book, "The History of the Woman's Club Movement":

"The woman has been the one isolated fact in the universe. The outlook upon the world, the means of education, the opportunities for advancement, had all been denied her. The opportunity came with the awakening of the communal spirit, the recognition of the law of solidarity of interests, the sociologic advance which established a basis of equality among a wide diversity of conditions and individualities, with opportunities for all capable of using them. The great advance was not confined to a society or a neighborhood; it did not require subscription to a tenet, or the giving up of one's mode of life. It was simply the change of a point of view, the opening of a door, the stepping out into the freedom of the outer air, and the sweet sense of fellowship that comes with liberty and light. The difference was only a point of view, but it changed the aspect of the world."

The General Federation had its inception with "Sorosis," of New York, in 1889, which called a meeting of a few scattered literary clubs, and the following year the Federation was organized. The fact that the clubs included in the General Federation have varied motives and differing lines of work, makes pertinent the motto, "Unity in Diversity." To an

excellent article by Mrs. Sarah S. Platt Decker we are indebted for a résumé of the workings of the twelve standing committees of the Federation.

The Art Committee, which is but one of many in the large city clubs, says Mrs. Decker, has sent hundreds of pictures over the country for schools, libraries, and into remote homes. Great practical sermons have been preached by loan exhibitions of originals, by classes under supervision of the clubs, by preaching the doctrine of "good art or no art" in the decoration of public buildings, the erection of monuments, park gates, drinking fountains, etc. One large department club in a western city has expended ten thousand dollars in schoolroom decorations alone.

Under the head of "Civics" there is almost no limit to the work done by clubs and federations in beautifying streets, in studying and carrying out sanitary measures, in establishing parks and municipal playgrounds, in preserving sacred historical spots and natural glories. Two notable examples of the work of the clubs in the latter instance are the preservation of the Palisades and the establishment of the "Mesa Verde" National Park for the Preservation of the Cliff Dwellings in Colorado. The betterment of hygienic conditions in our homes also comes somewhat under the supervision of the Civics Committee.

Of other committees there is one on Forestry, and another on Child Labor, with whose work all are familiar. The Legislative Committee, which, if it had done nothing else than provide for juvenile

courts, has been the most important in valuable work of all the committees. And there is the Library Extension Committee and the Literature Committee, both doing good work along their respective lines. A committee suggested at the last biennial convention was the Outlook Committee, whose business it shall be to spy out new fields for action. It may readily be seen that the women's clubs through these committees touch nearly every activity of life. Of course, clubs in small cities and in towns and in rural districts do not attempt the highly organized life I have been describing, but these do exercise in the aggregate an enormous educational and social power. Since the advent of the splendid reading courses for clubs, the latter have become in hundreds of cases real home colleges and centers of literary culture and promoters of refinement.

It was in 1868 that two of the oldest and most useful of women's clubs were organized, viz., Sorosis and the New England Club. In Indiana and Michigan there are women's clubs that date back to the fifties. It does not matter so much just which was the first club organized; it is sufficient to know that they came, and as Edward Everett Hale says, "They came in upon us just when they were most needed." Mrs. John Dickenson Sherman, in an article on "The Women's Clubs in the Middle Western States," tells of the Ladies' Library Society, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, organized in 1852 and still doing good work; and the Minerva Club, of New Harmony, Indiana, or-

ganized in 1859. Then in the seventies came many powerful clubs, notable among which is the Chicago Woman's Club.

Mrs. Sherman says of the club movement in the Middle West that it is "the result of an evolution, and is still in its evolutionary stage." She divides the movement into three stages: First, for educational and intellectual betterment; second, for the benefit of the local community, by enlarging the scope of the work and including some phase of public endeavor; third, the strengthening of club work and its identification with state and national affairs.

In their educational work the clubs have been thorough, as is shown by Mrs. Sherman:

"In working for the cause of education, the club women have not neglected the things that too often seem petty and sentimental to the men of affairs. They have endeavored to bring the school and the home closer together through mothers' clubs, child study circles, and social intercourse. They have tried to cultivate the esthetic sense by gifts of pictures and casts, by the artistic decoration of schoolrooms, and by prizes for flower culture. They have worked to make the schoolhouses and grounds pleasing as well as useful. In the direction of bigger things, from a material view-point, the credit for many new schoolhouses belongs to women. The establishment and maintenance of free kindergartens are common; in many cases—as in that of the Under Age Free Kindergarten, originally established as a charity by the Wednesday Club of St. Louis—these schools have grown to be notable institutions. Manual training has had a good friend in the clubs; united club effort in Iowa, for example, has established it in six schools.

Ohio crowned five years' hard work with the success of securing legislation for four normal schools in 1902 and appropriation for two."

Perhaps one of the most interesting, as well as the most valuable, things the club women of Chicago ever attempted in the way of education is the "vacation school." The first vacation school was established in 1896 by the Civic Federation, and so successful did it prove that in 1898 the women's clubs took up the work and the committee established five schools. Every year since the number of schools has increased. There is a vacation school board with a club woman president and secretary; the other members consist of eight club women and eight men. Since 1898 the club women have contributed nearly $25,000 for the maintenance of these schools. Twenty-eight nationalities were represented in these schools in 1905. The Italians led with 1,424, and the Jews followed with 1,408. The Germans were third, with 1,074. Other nationalities with good-sized enrolment were the Bohemians, 670; Irish, 434; American, 373; Norwegian, 270; Swedish, 269; Russian, 246; Polish, 214. That the efforts of these club women are appreciated by those whom they are intended to benefit, is evidenced from the fact that when the school was opened in the Ghetto, a mob of fifteen hundred men, women, and children fought in front of the building for a chance to enter, and three policemen were powerless. Every day of the term a crowd stood in front of the door waiting for a vacancy made by the chance ill-

ness of some child. It is estimated that fifteen thousand children were turned away from the schools that summer, and that thirty schools would be none too many to carry on the work that eight tried to do in 1905.

The Englewood Women's Club furnishes the schoolchildren with hot luncheons each day; the Chicago Woman's Club has a Schoolchildren's Aid that furnishes needy children with suitable clothing so they may be kept in school. The society collects from $7,000 to $9,000 each year. The Michigan State Federation has pledged a memorial loan fund of $5,000 for the benefit of women students in the University of Michigan. The fund is a memorial to Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "mother of clubs in Michigan," a pioneer in securing coeducation in colleges, and for a long time an instructor in the University. And so we might go on enumerating what women's clubs are doing for education.

Of the crowning work of women's clubs, the establishment of the juvenile court, we will let Mrs. Sherman tell us:

"To the club women of the Middle West belongs the honor of bringing a new element into jurisprudence in the juvenile court law. The juvenile court is an instrument for good whose tremendous power is only beginning to be felt. The first court was established but eight years ago, yet already eighteen states have adopted the Illinois law, either in whole or in part. While the juvenile court is not a cure-all, and is an instrument and not an end, it is the best solution yet devised of the problem of defective and

delinquent children in crowded communities. It is perfectly safe to say that within a very few years it will be in every considerable self-respecting city of the United States. The old idea was that the child, like the adult who had broken the law, must be tried and punished. The new principle is that, even if the child has violated the law, the state must act as a wise parent, and so deal with the case that evil tendencies will be eradicated and the juvenile offender educated into good citizenship. Perhaps the spirit of the law may be condensed into the phrase, 'A square deal for the child.'

"The movement that has brought about the juvenile court had its beginning in the Cook County jail in the city of Chicago. Under the old conditions the police courts and jails swarmed with children, who were herded with mature criminals. For several years the Chicago Woman's Club had been maintaining a school in the jail, and the conditions that obtained convinced them that the system was not only foolish but wicked. They determined to make an effort to secure a distinction in the eye of the law between the mature criminal and the irresponsible child. The club secured the services of an able jurist, the late Harvey B. Hurd. He drew a bill which was indorsed by the Chicago Bar Association and passed by the legislature. The new law went into effect in 1899. The juvenile court statute sets forth the power of the state to exercise through its courts of chancery its guardianship of the child. It establishes this guardianship over two classes of children—dependents and delinquents. A dependent child it not only one who is homeless, destitute or abandoned; it is also dependent if it has not proper parental care, and if its home, by reason of the fault of its natural guardians, is not a fit place for it. A child is delinquent not only when it violates the law, but also when it is incorrigible, when it consorts knowingly with criminals, or when it is growing up in idleness and

crime. The age limit of the original law, sixteen years, has been raised to eighteen. The court does not sit as a court of law, but of chancery. The court merely assumes the guardianship of the child and does not punish the delinquent. When not paroled, it is sent to some reformatory institution. The traditional customs of a law court are done away with; the chancellor is judge and jury, and practically all the machinery. This is the gist of the Illinois law of 1899, the basis of most of the laws of other states. Colorado made an important addition in the delinquent parent law, providing for the punishment of offending parents by the juvenile court. Illinois in turn adapted this provision to local conditions.

"In this new court, the power entrusted to the presiding judge is enormous, but it is a characteristic of our American people that when an occasion arises, the man is not wanting. This occasion has brought out at least two men of striking genius—Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, and Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago. Without attempting to compare the two men, one may say that the former does his marvelous work under more favorable conditions. Judge Lindsey, for example, has heard about two thousand cases in four years; Judge Mack hears about eight thousand cases a year. Judge Mack can not personally stand in the place of parent to several thousand children; the intermediary is the probation officer. Most of these are women, and the club women have not only raised money for the payment of their salaries, but have seen that the positions are filled with the right kind of women. Each officer is in charge of a district and about fifty boys. This officer visits the child's home and requires frequent reports from him. The plan in most states is to make the probation officer a paid employee of the court, the supposition being that the work of volunteers is not generally satisfactory. Indianapolis, however, has developed the volunteer system to a high state of

efficiency under the Indiana law. There are about one hundred and fifty officers, and no one officer has more than three children under his charge; often there is but one. Recently in Chicago Judge Mack has supplemented the services of the regular officers by making probation officers of the Visiting Nurse Association, which last year ministered to fully seven thousand sick people in poor families—another beneficent work which the club women encourage with moral and financial support. In Iowa the Congress of Mothers, belonging to the state federation, took the lead in securing the juvenile court law of that State. Ohio's law was passed in 1904, and the credit is largely due to its club women, the passage of the law having formed one of the paramount issues of the clubs in the State."

Of the character of the club women in the Middle West, Mrs. Sherman speaks as follows: "The rank and file of the club women of the Middle West form a truly admirable body of women—loyal, sincere, and thoroughly in earnest. Well-to-do, well-informed and capable, unhampered by the very rich or the very poor, the flower of every community, they are at once an aristocracy and democracy of brains with the watchword, 'The Home, Patriotism, and Good Government.'"

Mr. W. L. Bodine, superintendent of compulsory education in Chicago, pays this tribute: "Women's clubs are the natural product of a progressive sex living in a progressive age. They stand for the home, for the school, for art and literature and music; for domestic science and for the intellectual advancement of the American woman who presides over the American home. They are not theoretical, they are practical; they act, they do things for the good of society, for the good of the community and of the country. The great woman means the better nation."[n]

CHAPTER XV

JOURNALISM IN AMERICA

TO account for the status of modern journalism as it is to be found in America to-day, a retrospective glance is almost necessary. Not only is it necessary, but interesting and instructive as well; just as it is interesting to know, in studying some prominent character, what sort of a child was father of the man.

We all know in a vague sort of a way, that the newspaper passed through many years of experimental struggle before it gained a footing and could be called a self-supporting institution and eventually a money-making investment. For many years, too, the term "journalism" applied only to newspapers. And now it is considered by many that the newspaper has swung to the other extreme and has become purely a commercial enterprise, and that journals that aim to exert an influence upon politics and ethics are rapidly diminishing in number. The editor no longer hires the publisher and business manager; the publisher hires the editor. And many, too, consider that the leading magazines are the only true exponents of American journalism.

New York City is the Mecca of newspaperdom, though Chicago is said to be its training-ground for recruits. To New York Journals, then, will it be

profitable to turn our investigations, so far as we shall need individual illustration.

The *Sun* was the pioneer penny newspaper in New York. It was first issued September 3, 1833, by Benjamin H. Day, an intelligent working man, and a job printer by occupation. It started with a circulation of three hundred. Its first issue contained twelve columns of matter, each column ten inches long. It was filled with bits of local interest and with advertisements of "Help Wanted." But this made it popular with the masses in search of employment. The first large increase of the visible radiance of the *Sun* was derived from the lively imagination of its editor, Richard Adams Locke, who published an article purporting to describe discoveries made by Sir John Herschel at the Cape of Good Hope. Sir John was then at the Cape, and had set up a new telescope there. The story ran that the telescope had revealed everything on the surface of the moon, and had discovered inhabitants, houses, soil, crops, animals, and modes of living. Every one believed it at first and every one bought the *Sun* to read about it. The New York *Herald* finally exposed the hoax, but the reputation of the *Sun* was made, and Mr. Day introduced steam power into his office in order to keep up the demand. The *Sun* was the pioneer in this mechanical improvement as well as in the publication of such gigantic "fakes."

Bennett had discovered that a paper which is usually denounced will be universally read. He had

perceived that a democratic revival demanded a democratic press, and his tough Scotch fiber was elastic enough to endure either pull or pressure. He determined to make a paper that should be the master of politicians, not the tool. To that purpose, despite all his frivolities and sinuosities, he clung with the tenacity of a Scotchman and the effrontery of a Frenchman. Moreover, Bennett possessed, in a high degree, the ability which is at once the pride and bane of two-thirds of our so-called successful journalists today—the ability to write crisply, interestingly, and omnisciently about everything, including the things of which he knew nothing. Out of the cellar at No. 20 Wall Street, came the first copy of the *Daily Herald,* May 6, 1835, a little four-page penny paper, with four columns to a page. Bennett literally fulfilled his editorial promise to "give a picture of the world." He first, in 1835, went on 'Change, note-book in hand, and wrote daily descriptions and reports of the stock markets. He first seized upon the opening of steam communication with Europe to organize upon that continent a bureau of foreign correspondence. He first, in 1838, adopted the practice of reporting the proceedings of courts of law when cases of public interest were on the docket. Mr. Bennett's newspaper was quite emancipated also from accepted standards of conventionality, one might almost say of ethics. He knew better than any of his rivals the value of wholesale advertising, and his cold-blooded manner of translating notoriety into dollars and cents

shocked the chivalrous soul of James Watson Webb. According to Webb's catechism, gentlemen whose estimates were too sharply criticized, or whose motives were impugned, could discover a healing balm only in an invitation to shed blood. Bennett laughed at such conduct and laughed also at such provocations. Every attack upon him was daily chronicled in the *Herald* and made a fresh means for exalting the horn of the newspaper for extending its circulation. Bennett was assaulted on the street and in his office by those whom he censured and lampooned. Infernal machines were sent to blow him into atoms. Bennett answered with blows of ridicule, and the public laughed with him and swelled the revenues of the *Herald* still more.

In connection with the Philadelphia *Ledger* and the Baltimore *Sun,* the New York *Herald* established the famous pony express from Mobile to Montgomery during the Mexican War, by which all the details of that war appeared in those journals before they were received by the authorities at Washington.

This exploit destroyed all there was left of the Holy Alliance, and its principal members were glad to join, in 1849-51, with the *Herald* in the combination for news-getting which is now known as the New York Associated Press.

The newspaper of to-day has retained some of the worst features of early journalistic work and lost many of the best features. Truman A. De Weese, of the editorial staff of the Chicago *Record-Herald,* wri-

ting in the *Independent* some time ago, said: "The journalistic leaders whose virile pens and forceful personalities vitalized and illumined every line of the editorial page, have nearly all passed away. Only a few of that school of writers who believe it to be the function of a newspaper to mold public opinion and proclaim the transcendent virtues of a particular party are left. The journalist of to-day is impersonal, hence irresponsible. The personality of the writers is obscured. The public can not connect editorial utterance with a personality that stands for expert knowledge or common honesty. Is it unnatural that the public should gradually decline to regard the unsigned editorial or newspaper article as worthy of universal acceptation as 'the law and the gospel' on any particular subject?"

This same writer illustrates the sinking of the individuality of the journalist of to-day as follows:

"Suppose you are in public office, and you find on reading over the editorial page of the *Herald* some morning that you are characterized as a 'boodler.' Of course, the editor is supposed to be responsible, but if you start on a search for him, the chances are that you will find he is in Europe. You would like to find the man who wrote the editorial. But you won't find him. His personality is hidden behind the fallacious theory that 'the newspaper is greater than the writer' who furnishes brains for it! How can a salable print be greater than the men who make it? If the cupidity or meanness of the publisher led him to point out the editorial detractor to you, in order to shield himself, you would not have the heart to put him in jail, even if you could. He is merely a

hired man, sinking his individuality and obscuring his personality from the world in an effort to carry out 'the policy of the paper.'"

In the opinion of Mr. De Weese, the newspaper is not, could not be, and should not pretend to be, anything but a commercial enterprise, and he gives these reasons:

"First, the impersonal editorial character of the modern daily in the larger cities makes it impossible for the public to connect its editorial utterances or news articles with any responsible authority." And he quotes Mr. Brooks Fisher: "With the press in the hands of business men, therefore, its abdication of leadership in the style of the *Thunderer* and of the famous journals of the past in this country, is a foregone conclusion." Of the "new journalism" Mr. Fisher says that the newspaper "for business abdicates the old function and dignity of and duty of the press in leadership, and instead of fronting the mob, follows it."

"'The power of the press,'" says Mr. De Weese, "is a pleasant bit of fiction kept alive by the politicians, who cajole the editor into pounding away in the interest of their party,—which is generally for their personal enrichment,—while the editor lives in a rented cottage and his coal bill goes unpaid. The journalism that is to wield any influence in the future must be a signed journalism, such as now finds its representation in the weekly and monthly magazines, with their timely and forceful discussion of

living issues and contemporaneous happenings by men and women of acknowledged standing in special fields of thought and investigation."

Second, he thinks the newspaper should be considered in the light of a commercial enterprise, because it "is not endowed by the state or by any party or propaganda." He asks these questions: "Why should the editor risk his private means to 'teach' the masses, to instruct them as to their political obligations and duties? Who is going to pay him for 'fronting the mob?'

"Third, the newspaper is not only not an endowed institution, but the state exacts no professional requirements or standards from those who desire to practice journalism." The writer cites that lawyers, doctors, teachers, and in some states barbers and horseshoers, must be examined as to their fitness for the business they desire to follow. But in journalism "any man, no matter how unlettered, vicious, or depraved, may start a newspaper and scatter broadcast the seeds of sedition, class hatred, and discontent, or the fruits of ignorant, narrow-minded prejudice.

"Fourth, the unavoidable inaccuracy of the news-gathering machinery of the modern daily newspaper. In most cases this inaccuracy is the fruit of a system that attempts to cover the events and transactions of the earth every twenty-four hours.

"In the face of these conditions," asks the writer, "why should the newspaper cling to the fiction that

it is a 'teacher' and not a commercial enterprise?" But he adds:

"The transition from 'journalism' to the 'newspaper industry' need not involve any loss of power and dignity on the part of the daily press. As a purely commercial proposition, it may still be a mighty force in human affairs. Its financial success as a commercial enterprise places it in a position of absolute editorial independence. It will still be the motion picture of civilization. Any organized industry that daily sweeps the wide domain of human thought and activity and spreads before the people every morning or afternoon a picture of the world's important happenings and transactions, with rational, sane, and well-tempered editorial side-lights thrown upon them, could not fail to be incomparably the greatest and most powerful among the forces that make for human progress."

Many people believe that American journalism to-day is not just what it should be, and in an address on the subject to the students of journalism at Yale, Mr. Munsey has thrown some side-lights on its status to-day, its needs, and its possible future. Since no one is better able to expound the subject than this great journalist, we can not do better than to quote from him. He says:

"The newspaper man of to-day is a composite type, the product of the New York *Sun* and the New York *World* of fifteen or eighteen years ago. These two newspapers represented two distinct and widely

different styles of journalism. The *World* was alert, daring, aggressive, and sensational. It was about the liveliest thing that ever swung into New York from the West. Nominally, it was here long before Mr. Pulitzer's day, but actually it came with his advent. It shook up the entire American press. It did new things, and did them with a dash. Its circulation bounded from nothing to hundreds of thousands. Other newspapers were being forced upon the rocks. The *World* was It.

"The result of this cyclonic success was that most men, and especially young men just entering the profession, accepted Mr. Pulitzer and his newspaper methods as the only guide to position and wealth; hence the great army of Pulitzer journalists that stretches from the shores of Maine to the Golden Gate.

"No man ever stamped himself more thoroughly upon his generation than has Joseph Pulitzer on the journalism of America. He was the originator and the founder of our present type of overgrown newspaper, with its illustrations and its merits and defects.

"The part the *Sun* played in this recreating and rejuvenating of the American press was purely literary. It was the first newspaper to make fiction out of facts; that is, to handle facts with the skill and the manner of the novelist, so that they read like fiction and possessed all its charm and fascination.

"The *Sun* at that time consisted of but four pages. With the exception of one or two of these fiction-

fact stories so charmingly told, it was the perfection of condensation.

"Attractive as were the *Sun's* fiction stories, their influence upon journalism has been as unfortunate in some respects as that of the Pulitzer methods. They were copied from one end of the country to the other, but the imitator never quite hits anything off on the same key. We have their verbosity without their cleverness. Instead of being limited to one or two articles, at most, as was the case with the old *Sun,* they have been multiplied until they well-nigh fill the whole paper. In time this *Sun* style became mixed with the *World* style, resulting eventually in a mongrel product which is largely the vogue to-day."

Regarding the present needs of journalism, Mr. Munsey says:

"What we most need in our Amercian journalism to-day, it seems to me, is a new school of newspaper men. We have reached a condition where one can not safely accept a piece of news as true until it is verified. We need to get back to the fundamental simplicity and straightforward honesty."

Mr. Munsey says the trouble is not with the men; it is with the standard. The reporters of to-day are living up to their conception of this standard of wide-awake, modern journalism.

"A newspaper staff," says Mr. Munsey, "must be created from young men. Money can not buy it nor can it be transplanted.

"The daily journal is almost wholly the product of the men a publisher has about him. As the men are, so will the paper be. The men then are the fundamental thing in newspaper making."

Of the journalism of the future, Mr. Munsey sounds this note of hope:

"The journalism of the future will be of a higher order than the journalism of the past or the present. Existing conditions of competition and waste, under individual ownership, make the ideal newspaper impossible. But with a central ownership big enough and strong enough to encompass the whole country, our newspapers can afford to be independent, fearless, and honest. It will no longer be a question of keeping the machinery in motion.

"Then giants will be the heart and brain of our journalism. This new journalism will have a faculty such as no university in the world ever had or ever will have. A million dollars a year for the general editorial department for a chain of a thousand papers will mean only a thousand dollars to each paper.

"An organization like this will call for the best there is in men, and will command the wisdom and the culture of the world. With such a faculty at the head of our newspapers, you will have a post-graduate course in your own home and the people will have their university."

We have endeavored to give, and think we have succeeded, two widely differing views of American journalism. Both are correct from each individual

point of view. 'Tis beyond question that the newspaper has been converted from pure journalism into an industry. It is equally true that it is a "teacher," and that its province in the future progress of civilization will be still more that of an educator and molder of public opinion.°

CHAPTER XVI

THE AMERICAN PULPIT

NO comprehensive view of the origin and growth of American institutions can be had apart from some just appreciation of the part the American pulpit has taken therein. While the pulpit is far from being American in its origin, it is within the frontier of fact to say that it has reached a higher point of development and of comparative power here than anywhere else. The forum being the first-born institution of a democracy, leads the way to the pulpit being a live instead of a merely dogmatic force in the development of that democracy.

There is no stage of American history where the pulpit has not been conspicuous, even in the present day when the fashion seems to be to count it among the second-rate forces. The republic virtually began to live in the words of a preacher, John Robinson, who stood on the shore as the Pilgrim Fathers began their first journey westward and, besides bidding them Godspeed and adjuring them to be true to their principles, enunciated that historic word "that God has still more light and truth to break forth from his Word." When the Pilgrim Fathers landed, their meeting-house was constructed coincident with their homes. As the colonies grew, the minister was a man of authority, and his pulpit the newspaper, bulletin-

board and seat of religious authority. As the mental strength of the nation grew and Emerson, himself a pulpiteer for a time, issued what has been called the American declaration of intellectual independence, creating what historians have overlooked as an epoch equal in significance to a national struggle, the gauntlet was taken up by the pulpits and grain threshed from chaff to the broadening of the people's outlook. And when civil war was imminent, it was the prominent pulpits of the country that bade the fearful see God's hand in the conflict, and while armies supplied the physical force of war, pulpits furnished the moral justification and altruistic motive. In these days the pulpit's power is of a finer and more potent kind, as it seeks to turn the nation from mere commercialism. Thus as adviser, governor, interpreter, and inspiration the pulpit can not be left out of any epoch without leaving an unexplained gap.

All great movements of men are essentially religious movements, although not recognized as such. There is a moral subtone underlying every word the peoples speak seriously. Though it were but rebellion, Cromwell's soldiers sang psalms and heard sermons. Though it were not far from fratricide, the pulpits of the North spoke cheer to the armies, as did the pulpits of the South. Though it meant bloodshed, the pulpits had no little to do with the emancipation of Cuba. In all these movements the moral sense of the people was aroused, and they looked to the pulpits for the spiritual interpretation of the un-

rest that had seized upon them. There has been, there can be, no far-reaching movement affecting the mass without the power of the pulpit being felt. Even the revolutionists of Paris must have their goddess and certain skeptical philosophers to act with them in the stead of priests. This condition seems to be an absolute necessity to all popular movements.

It is customary in some quarters to say that the pulpit's power is fast waning before the marked development of the press. It has been contended that even now the printed page is usurping the place of the living voice. Apparently there is some ground for this contention, but why it should be held exclusively in relation to the pulpit is not explained, and if it were, it would but discover the weakness of the contention. Wagner's wonderfully spiritual operatic work can be had in the printed page. Score and words of "Parsifal" may be had at any store for a small sum of money. One may sit in one's chair and have before one's eyes the full orchestration of the most elaborate production of any of these master works. One may in the silence of one's chamber read the inspiring lines of the young shepherd in search of what he knows not of—the mystic ideal. But—does one do this? Is it not true that an increasing number of persons in this and other countries are weeding out of their tastes a less artistic class of plays and going in greater numbers and with greater appreciation than ever to witness the exposition of these high moral themes? It is apparently true that

in this instance, at least, the printed page is not crowding out the living voice and action.

But, to confine the examination to its purely literary side: is the printed page of Shakespeare obscuring the pulsing characters that portray his thought in the garb and speech of the day it came to him? Then, why, out of all the provinces in which the press can supplant the person, is only the pulpit chosen as the province that must be conquered?

The essential strength of the American pulpit is the living voice in a plea for righteousness. Abstract principles can no more stir the moral impulse than can a phonograph nerve an army for battle. Embodied principles are the only ones the masses recognize, and examples are more potent than precepts. Until the living voice loses its inspiring force; until the spiritual appeal ceases to find response; until the natural hunger of the people for knowledge of the higher life and ideal things ceases to be felt, the American pulpit will be a necessary part of American life.

No territory in all the world has been more fertile of sects whose activities are missionary than has America. From our earliest day there have been divisions theological, until the veriest hair-splitter fails in his attempts to discover the exact points of difference. But the point is that each of these divisions has its host of propagandists and each propagandist his pulpit. Hence the wide diffusion of the pulpit. From ultraspiritualism to ultramaterialism the creeds

are written, and preachers by scores support those creeds. From the veriest orthodoxy to the broadest liberalism there are pulpits standing for distinctive doctrines or for no doctrines at all. But they are pulpits, nevertheless, and go to enlarge that composite institution we here call the American pulpit.

From Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards to Henry Ward Beecher and Felix Adler is a long step, both chronologically and theologically, but between these points is all that is contained in the term American pulpit. And in this the American pulpit differs from the pulpits of other countries. There is no comparison whatever between the English pulpit, for instance, and the American pulpit any more than there is any similarity in the commercial methods and achievements of the two countries. The pulpit of America has partaken of the broad sweep and liberty that is characteristic of our national ideals. It is not circumscribed except by Deity on one side and humanity on the other. Between these points it moves as freely as it chooses or dares, and even heresy trials are going out of fashion.

The first point of difference is in the theology of the American pulpit, if its body of doctrine can be called a theology rather than a theologica-sociology. There were no sterner doctrinaires than those who came to these shores in the "Mayflower" or in other ships bearing the seed of the new country. They brought with them theological positions essentially Calvinistic. Theirs was a stern warfare against evil

and their notion of Deity was that of an unbending, august ruler and disposer of events. Literalism, twin-sister of superstition, was the order of study, preaching, profession, and action. The sudden darkening of the day sent the people to their churches or their prayer closets. The sudden appearance of a band of Indians made the elders search for an Achan in the camp. A series of misfortunes could be attributed to nothing else than a witch. Whatever men suffered here was said to be nothing compared to the punishment stored up against the one who fractured holy laws in the smallest jot or tittle. It was only under conditions such as this that Jonathan Edwards could launch his terrible sermon concerning punishment, and cause strong men to grovel on the ground in a very passion of fear and terror. It was only under such conditions as this that ministers of religion could preside at the burning of a "witch."

But as the conditions of life softened, so did the hearts of the people soften, and their Deity, who before had been regarded as stern as themselves, began to be spoken of as infinite love. From this change came gentle men like Channing and Emerson to the pulpit, teaching the beautiful side of Deity. Of course, their positions were assailed in their day, but the influence of Whittier, Lowell, Parker, and others soon began to permeate the lesser pulpits of the land until it can be said to-day that Emerson preaches in part from almost every religious platform in the country.

The evolution of the American pulpit, here referred to in the briefest outline, is one of the points of difference—that a pulpit should have an evolution at all—between it and the pulpit of other lands.

But yet another change was in store, and in this the American pulpit showed most superbly its practicality and adaptability. In Germany scholars were working on what has wrongly been called the higher criticism. German pulpits became little more than seminary lecture rooms. Results of practical value were obtained, doubtless, but the German theologians did not look beyond the result to its possible use in behalf of needy men. In time, inklings of the work of German scholars came filtering into the studies where the American pulpit did its preparatory work. Then ensued a notable illustration of that saying that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. With half an idea, half of the American pulpit became iconoclastic. It seemed to their clientele that the very foundations of faith were tottering. Polemic war raged between pulpit and pulpit. Minor things were raised to the dignity of essentials. To the world at large it looked as if this condition would result in a rending to pieces by itself of the pulpit, and the religious world looked on aghast at what it called the apostasy of its recognized leaders. Preacher after preacher seemed to be imbued with the desire for notoriety by making a fresh denial and attracting contention and publicity. It was a period of much discussion and not enough study.

Then it became known that no criticism is valuable unless it be constructive, and it seems now that the pulpit is going back to its positive work of upbuilding. With it, it is carrying all of good it gained from German scholars, and is applying that good systematically to the upbuilding of its people. In fact, the pulpit is back where it was in the beginning but with a larger outlook and a greater amount of humility regarding the eternal things which it must see through a glass darkly.

The American pulpit found that there is no theology without a sociology. That is the discovery it made during its period of unrest. In this respect the American pulpit differs most widely from others. It was Henry Drummond who first used the term "spiritual diagnosis." It was Moody, the evangelist of the reaction, who made the inquiry room a sort of a spiritual consulting room. And now the greater of the eastern theological seminaries is instituting what it calls a "spiritual laboratory" in the form of a social settlement. The work of the pulpit is thus being humanized and taken as one with nature. There is more sociological work being done by the American pulpit than any pulpit in the world. Indeed, the day has come when an organized assembly of Christians employ not one, but two, three, even four pastors—one whose talent is to preach; another whose talent is pastoral; another who can direct the social life of the church in such a way as to make it a valuable adjunct to the pulpit. The institutional church is the result

of the pulpit's belief that man has more than one side to his nature. Reading-rooms, baths, gymnasia, clubs, courses of study, etc., are frequently to be met with in the most useful churches, the theory being really the long-hidden one of the Apostle Paul, that man has mind, soul, and body; and again, that not that is first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and after, that which is spiritual. The method is that one must be a good animal—a good being physically — before one can adequately appreciate one's spiritual opportunities. Thus theology has come to recognize the laws of life, and sociology to teach their practice. Combined, they make the greatest uplifting force the world has ever known. It was the American pulpit which took this step, and instead of faltering before the cry that the pulpit is useless, the pulpit has answered merely by entering a field of unlimited usefulness. In line with this, and led largely at the outset by the Roman Catholic Church, the American pulpit is making itself a power in the enforcement of ideals and laws which will prevent the disintegration of society. It thunders against divorce; it attacks child slavery; it rejects blood-money because it knows the donors mean it to be hush-money; it points out political corruption; it preaches the gospel of commercial honesty, the gospel of political decency, the gospel of a chance for the poor. In other words, it takes the old gospel that used to be but used for spiritual food and applies it directly as a balm to the social wounds of the world. The most noteworthy

achievement of the American pulpit, then, is the success it has had in helping men to identify religion with life.

The American pulpit, however, has not confined itself to sermons and churches; it has entered the broad field of literature, and has given that tone that distinguishes the best American workmanship in letters. The fact is, that our literature dates from a certain old manse in Concord. When the lyceum was such a force in the country, it was manned mostly by ministers who found a pulpit in every city and hamlet throughout the land from which to preach to the people on subjects close to the nation's heart. And if one looks over the names of the men who have done worthy work to-day, one will find the names of many men who stand in the American pulpit. In fiction as well as in philosophy the American pulpit has been found to contain efficient workmen. It is true that to-day the pulpit has not that lordly authority it had a century ago, and this is well for the pulpit. In a day when a minister's word is taken without question of it being the wisest word, there is a tendency to speak words without questioning whether they be even partially wise. The man in the pulpit can no longer hide behind his office. No longer can he speak his word and retire within the mystery of his calling. This is a day in which all things are tested, and the true word is held whether it be spoken by a layman or a clergyman. Thus it comes that the clergyman of to-day is, generally, a bigger man men-

tally than his forerunners, although one is tempted sometimes to think the contrary when one reviews the ponderous tomes written by spiritual leaders of the last two centuries. It is by the very worth of the thing said that the pulpit survives and keeps its place as leader. If it can announce the irrevocable laws of life; if it can show beyond doubt the unbreakable connection between moral sowing and moral reaping; if it can show in living words the futility of risking one's character for gain—and the possibility of losing both; if it can without a doubt prepare a man's mind to see clearly that though wicked men seem to flourish for the time, there is yet a greater and more substantial enjoyment for those who keep their honor unsullied, then the pulpit shall have rendered a service to the country that is not eclipsed by any of the country's servants, military, judicial, or commercial. And to the credit of the American pulpit let it be said that it is doing just these things.

The peril of the pulpit lies in the pew, it is agreed. For some years past there has been serious discussion as to where the American pulpit of the next generation can be recruited. There is an alarming falling off in the number of aspirants for the ministry of some branches of the church. This is caused by two conditions: one, the difficulty with which the public has come to realize the changed attitude of the pulpit toward its real work, and the other is the lack of financial rewards in the ministry when compared with the rewards of other professions. Those with

the best interests of the American ministry at heart will do well to be glad that these two conditions exist; they augur well for the ministry of the future. Those who are deterred from entering the ministry because of the financial compensation being small may well be out of the pulpit. Those who have not yet the larger conception of the ministry as revealed in its larger work, may well stay out, too. The hope is that no one will enter the ministry as a "profession" in which one is paid for his service. The hope is that the ministry of the future will be recruited only from those who enter the pulpit because necessity is laid on them—even though the number of ministers of all churches be reduced one-half or more. The key-note of the ministry is consecration, not compensation. The field of the future in the ministry is as noble a field as a noble man can contemplate, and the power that adjusts all things can be trusted to supply men who lead and do not follow in spiritual things.

When we have true perspective of our history, it will be found that along with American diplomacy, American military and naval skill, American administration, American industry, there stands an equal force—the American pulpit.

THE END

AUTHORSHIP OF CHAPTERS

a, *b*, *c*, *m*, and *o*, Ethlyn T. Clough.
d and *f*, Hon. James Bryce.
e, Edwin Earle Sparks, Ph. D.
g, *Appleton's Magazine.*
h, Frederick Austin Ogg, in *The World's Work.*
i, Thomas R. Shipp, in *The Reader Magazine.*
j, Various authors in *The World To-day* and *The World's Work.*
k, John Gilmer Speed, in *The Outlook.*
l, Allan L. Benson, in *Appleton's Magazine.*
n, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*
p, William J. Cameron.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building